The Barundi, an Ethnological Study of German East Africa
[Die Barundi, Eine völkerkundliche Studie aus Deutsch-Ostafrika]

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Leipzig: 1916
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Translated from the German by Helmut Handzik

Human Relations Area Files

1959

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Explanation: The numbers listed in the text and enclosed in parentheses, for example (No. 38, p. 15), refer to the consecutively numbered works in the list of source material, Appendix II of this book.
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Chapter 1

Survey of Land People (1)

(Cf. the map [colored in the original] at the end of the book.)

114 1. Part of this chapter is taken from a lecture which I gave at the 19th German Geographers' Conference in Strasbourg in the spring of 1914.

1. The Land Urundi

131 In the extreme west of German East Africa lies one of the regions of Africa least known until now: Urundi. To the north it borders on Ruanda, to the east on Ussuwi and Uha, to the south also on Uha, to the west on Lake Tanganyika and the Ruzizi River. Since Urundi has an area of almost 29,000 square kilometers, i.e., approximately twice that of the Kingdom of [161] Saxony, and since it has over one and a half million inhabitants (according to van der Burgt, around two and a half million), it deserves attention for this reason alone. However, although 648 it has been German territory for over 25 years, we know little about it. Because of the recalcitrance of its population, the government had almost completely closed off the area to travel from the outside, and until 1911 political influence was limited to the establishment of a station with a resident and a company of colonial troops in Usumbura on Lake Tanganyika. It was not until 1912 that the seat of government was moved on a trial basis to Gitega in the interior of the region.

648 797 Oskar Baumann in 1812 was the first European who traveled through northern Urundi to the source of the Nile on the upper Ruvuvu. There followed then between 1896 and 1898 several military expeditions by colonial army officers, Ramsay, von Trotha, Langheld, von Langenn-Steinkeller, Fonck, and Dr. Kandt; and between 1896 and 1899 the Catholic Mission of

648 [797] the "White Fathers" founded the stations of Usumbura (later moved to Marienheim), Mujaga, and Mugera in central Urundi. However, this advance of the Europeans was met with hostility by the Barundi [Rundi], so that from 1900 on German colonial troops under their leaders, Bethe, von Beringe, and von Grawert, had to contend with Kisabo, the king of Urundi, whereupon the Barundi finally recognized the sovereignty of the Germans. This recognition, however, is only nominal, for our power there is much too small to permit the establishment of a German administration in Urundi as yet.

114 Under such circumstances the exploration of Urundi could make no substantial progress. Ethnology alone has been advanced to a high degree by Father J. M. M. van der Burgt, who for many years was active in Urundi as a missionary and published the results of his excellent ethnological studies in Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi which appeared in 1903 through the Dutch Missionary Publishing House at Bois le Duc. The extremely extensive ethnological and ethnographical data, however, are so interspersed in this book with all kinds of historical and [2] linguistic digressions that it is difficult to extract and methodically collate the ethnological data of scientific value.

In view of this situation I decided to devote part of my 1911 expedition to the investigation of Urundi. Therefore, I worked there for a few months, sufficient time to obtain an over-all view which I have endeavored to supplement, as far as possible, by inquiries, correspondence, and other kinds of studies. Setting out from Ruanda in the northwest, I first crossed the northwestern mountain region, the "Mountains of the Moon" with my two companions, Lieutenant Tiller and Dr. Houy, then descended to the great central African depression into the valley of the Rusizi, then crossed in dugouts the northern end of Lake Tanganyika to the residency, Usumbura, and thereupon traveled through the whole of central Urundi from west to east in a month and further through northern Uha and the Ussumbwa states, until finally, at Tabora, I reached the central railroad by which I traveled to Dar es Salaam.

133 When I now attempt to describe the inhabitants of Urundi, the Barundi (1), the following question must first be briefly answered: What does the country look like, the soil which supports and nourishes the people and upon which its economic, social, and political life takes place? Urundi is a mountainous country, the southern part of the interlacustrine region to which belong Ruanda in the north, the Kisiba states and Uha in the east, and in the south also Uha and part of Ujiji. On all sides Urundi has good natural boundaries: in the north the rivers Akanjaru and Kagera, in the east the long plateau sloping down toward Uha, in the south the upper course of the Malagarasi, in the west Lake Tanganyika and the Ruzizi River. To the north the region has a broad front toward Ruanda, while to the south it tapers off in wedge-shaped form to Lake Tanganyika.

In its geological structure Urundi is divided into two large regions whose landscapes differ. The larger eastern part is a section of the Paleozoic slate and quartzite plateau (Plate 26) probably belonging to the Cape formation. This plateau covers almost the entire interlacustrine region. The narrower, tapering

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[104]
[194]
1. In the spelling of Barundi, Bahima, Batussi, Bahutu, Batwa, Baganda, Banjoro, Banjaruanda, Banjankole, etc., I am following the example of J. Czekanowski (Nos. 38 and 48). In this connection, it should be noted that the phonetic value of this b is often close to our w i.e., an English v and in correct phonetic terms might be more clearly transcribed by a v specially marked, but for the purpose of my study the common b corresponds more closely to the orthography of the tribes between the lakes. On the other hand, one must write Wanjamwesi, Wasukuma, Waschaschi, etc., since these tribes pronounce the w in all clarity.

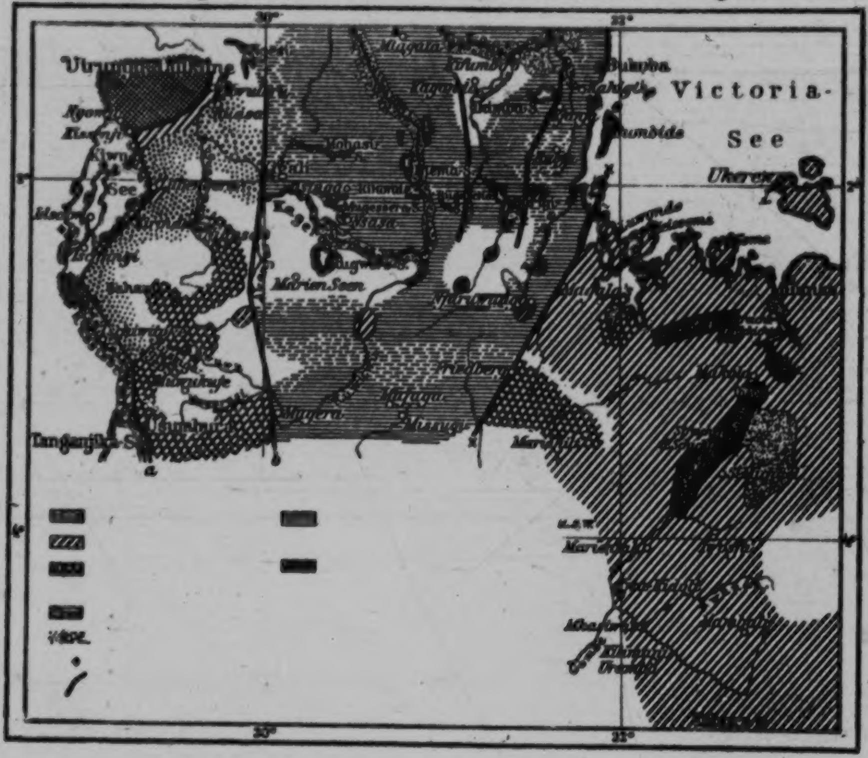
133 western part is the tail end of a range of Archeozoic folded mountains; it consists of crystalline slate with many granite intrusions and outcrops. The boundary between the two formations is a sharp threshold or drop in the terrain running north to south approximately at the longitude of the Mugera missionary station. Toward the east the slate-quartzite plateau also slopes down in an extended gradient at high altitude toward the gneiss and granite plateau of Unjamwesi which I consider an eroded escarpment. A huge tectonic fault scarp is found in the steep western slope of the highland toward the central African graben and toward Lake Tanganyika. Smaller fault depressions in several places extend over the country of Urundi; in fact, the entire interlacustrine region is rich in such tectonic faults. (Cf. the map on opposite page.)

[648] [4] Only a few times have determined enemies invaded Urundi across the high ridges and escarpments in the west and southeast, but this has happened more often from the flatter, more open fronts in the north and northeast. In the north are [101] the proud, warlike neighbors, the Ruanda, in the northeast the restless tribes of the Lake Victoria region: the Bassuwi, Basindja [Linza], Wassumbwa [Sumbwa], and others.

The slate-quartzite plateau of eastern Urundi has been leveled by erosion from meteorological forces over many thousands of years into a large peneplain with long, broad, low ridges (Plate 1a), while in the west the older mountain periphery still rises to a considerable altitude although it has also been worn down and rounded for the most part. The plateau region has an average altitude of 1,600-1,800 meters; the peripheral mountains rise to as high as 3,000 meters. More recent block movements renewed again the process of erosion which had been slowing down, so that in many regions the streams have carved recent, deep valleys into the plateau and the mountain ranges which then divided the region into a great number of large blocks and bastions. However, in still more recent times this process of erosion was again considerably slowed down by other developments. This is apparent from the fact that at present there are rapid streams only in the mountains of the west (Plate 1b), while in the plateau region of the east almost

[3]

Geological Sketch of the Middle Interlacustrine Region.


30°
32°
Victoria-
See
Bukoba
Ukerewe
Kagera
Marien Seen
Tanganjika-See
a
b

(Caption on following page.)

2: Meyer--4A K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

[3] Caption to Map on Preceding Page.

133

Legend

Based on personal observations and collections (revised by K. Schlossmacher; cf. Hans Meyer, Ergebnisse einer Reise durch das Zwischenseengebiet Ostafrikas 1911 [Results of a Journey Through the Interlacustrine Region of East Africa in 1911], Berlin, 1913) and taking into account earlier publications by Stuhlmann, Baumann, Count von Goetzen, Kandt, Herrmann, Dantz, Stromer von Reichenbach, Gagel, Koert, and others.

░ Primary formation.

▨ Granite rock.

▩ Primary formation in combination with granites.

▒ Loose and more recent surface layers (alluvia of rivers).

☷ Probable extent of layers.

+ Hot springs (occurring on fissures).

/ Fissure lines (a) or fault scarps (b?); probably eroded escarpment.

☰ Horizontal quartzes, slate, etc. Perhaps Cape formation.

▓ Granites, covered by recent volcanic rock.

133 everywhere only sluggish waters run in the relatively recent valleys. To all appearances a general damming up of waters has taken place due to recent block movements which have caused an enormous growth of swamps in the valleys in Urundi, especially in the north and northeast, and in the entire interlacustrine region. Its main cause is insufficient drainage in the network of streams of the Kagera River on the one hand and in that of the Malagarasi on the other, since their level of erosion has apparently been raised by more recent block movements in both areas.

The two big rivers mentioned above divide Urundi into two hydrographic systems: the larger northern system drains into the Kagera, Lake Victoria, the Nile, and, therefore, into the Mediterranean; the smaller southern one into the Malagarasi, Lake Tanganyika, the Congo River, and, therefore, into the Atlantic Ocean.

Since Urundi is between 2 1/2 and 4 1/2 degrees south
132 latitude, it has, like Ruanda, an equatorial climate with two rainy seasons and two dry seasons. The rains occur soon after the sun has reached its zenith in April and October. The amount of precipitation, approximately 1,250 millimeters in the north and less than 1,000 millimeters in the south, is not great for a tropical region, yet it is still plentiful and evenly distributed. The average annual temperature fluctuates about 20 degrees Centigrade. It is higher in the east, and in the mountains of the west the thermometer almost approaches zero in July. Day after day a vigorous east wind blows across the highlands. In the mornings there are often dense mists in the valleys.

The warm temperature, the amount of precipitation, and
137 the distribution of rain would lead one to expect extended forest growth in Urundi, but this is not the case. Urundi is quite predominantly grassland (Plate 1a), pasture land at high altitude, like Ruanda. This is because the natives cut down the forest
[311] to make fields and pastures. Toward the east in the direction of Uha where the country is lower, the grassland gradually turns into a tree and tussock grass steppe (Plate 3b). The grass grows higher and wilder in Urundi than in Ruanda since the grassy plains

137 are not burned down so regularly, and Urundi is not as completely treeless as Ruanda because next to each kraal a few fig trees are maintained for the use of their bark. Also, [5] the larger rivers, such as the Ruvuvu or the Malagarasi, are bordered for some stretches with a rather dense forest on the banks (Plate 5). The great majority of the valleys, however, is swampy and filled with dense papyrus thickets which can be penetrated only in a few places (Plate 2a). While in our part of the world valleys are the natural arteries of traffic and the most suitable places for settlement, they can never serve this purpose in most of Urundi. The swamp covered valleys and [361] their often very steep slopes force the population and their roads and settlements to the upland plateaus and upper slopes. For this reason all farmsteads are on mountain-ridges and the higher slopes of the valleys. In the valleys the only fields are of crops [241] that, like sweet potatoes, need considerable moisture. This character of the valleys will make it extremely difficult to open up the country by means of roads or even railroads. The papyrus swamps are, next to the grassy hills across which one can see for miles, the most characteristic feature in the landscape of Urundi, as well as of Uha and Ruanda, that is, of most of the interlacustrine region.

Richard Kandt, the poet among the travelers to East Africa, devotes the following impressionistic description to them.

"From the time we entered the region of Urundi and also during the last days in Uha, papyrus swamps formed the characteristic feature of the landscape. Often streams hardly more than two meters wide lie in a valley of papyrus several hundred meters wide. It fills not only the main valleys but extends also into all tributary valleys and even climbs up the ravines and gorges so that, seen from a height, the country looks like a gigantic network of green ribbons in whose meshes the mountains lie like islands. I have seen many a strange and beautiful landscape in Africa. I have experienced the indescribable melancholy hovering over burned, trembling-hot steppes when the rays of the sinking sun, in a bloody red, break through the glittering haze. In the territory of the Congo State I have tasted

137 to the full the splendors and terrors of the jungle. I have taken delight in the serene gracefulness of the central African lakes, and I have admired the grandiose miracle world of the volcanos. I know the harsh grandeur of the rivers which flow silently through the shadow of the forest galleries and the tragic mood inspired by the lava wilderness deserted by all good spirits. Yet I must say that scarcely any of these scenic moods has impressed itself on my mind more deeply than the picture of such a papyrus landscape. It is constantly changing, not only with the season but almost with every hour of day, depending on the angle of the rays of the sun; it is different in clear and in overcast weather, in the morning and in the evening. For hours I used to gaze down on it from the height of a mountain and never tired of observing the violet shadows of the wandering clouds moving across the green plains or the wind playing with them in such a way that only a mild disturbance would arise among them, as in a tightly crowded herd, but then it would swell up to a storm and plow long deep furrows between them which would repeatedly close up and open and close up again." (No. 22, page 246.)

Only on the highest mountain ridges of the west (Plate 4a) are there any virgin forests with tall trees in Urundi, but even here there are only relatively small remnants, as in Ruanda and in a few corners of Lake Victoria. Everywhere they have been pushed back and destroyed by the expanding population. Most probably the entire interlacustrine region was still covered by virgin forest only a few centuries ago, since the altitude as well as the temperature and rainfall in the interlacustrine region favor the growth of forests, but the rapid increase in population of the agricultural Bantu demanded more space, and the forest had to give way. The devastation of forests became even greater when the cattle-raising Batussi [Tussi] invaded the interlacustrine region and claimed larger and larger areas as pasture for their herds of cattle. Replacing the burnt forest, bamboo (Arundinaria alpina) has grown in many places in the upland valleys [6]; it

137 better resists the periodic grass fires and adds a peculiar feature to the scenery of the mountains (Plate 4b). The growth of grass and trees in the hot, dry plain of the Ruzizi lowland (Plate 3a) is, however, very much like a steppe.

As a result of the expansion of the population and the
136 destruction of the forest, free wildlife also has been considerably
reduced. In the grassland there remain only very few antelope
(Jimela, tuft antelope, gazelles), and of large birds only
crowned cranes which because of their great numbers might be
called the heraldic animal of Urundi and Ruanda, further
bustards, herons, ibises, francolins, Nile geese, etc. In the
forests on the riverbanks one still finds bushbucks (Tragelaphus),
swamp antelopes, and duikers. In the water itself there are
numerous hippopotamuses, crocodiles, and otters. In the re-
maining parts of forest on the highland periphery and in the
tree steppe of the Ruzizi lowland, there still live quite a num-
ber of elephants, buffalo, baboons, etc. Everywhere leopards
are quite frequent. Especially interesting is the mixture of
East African and West African forms in this area which in terms
of plant and animal geography is a border region. Just as num-
[137] erous plants, flora of the West African forest, have penetrated
into this region and in part even as far as Lake Victoria, so
also have many small and large representatives of West African
fauna; I shall mention only the gray parrot, the giant touraco,
the hornbill, and, of the mammals, the red buffalo, the
chimpanzee, and the gorilla. Because of this mixture of East
and West African forms, the plant and animal collections of
this bio-geographical border zone which extends through west-
ern Urundi and western Ruanda are very interesting.

2. The Population

563 Even more interesting than the mixture of flora and fauna is the population mixture, both in Urundi and in Ruanda. There are three anthropologically and culturally distinct elements which are quite sharply separated but exist side by side or one above the

563 other, and which in the course of centuries in this grouping have crystallized into a strong social and political community.

The great mass of the population consists of the agri-
563 culturalists, the Bahutu [Hutu], belonging to the Bantu race,
162 more specifically to the so-called basic Bantu. In Urundi their
144 number is approximately one and a half million. Above them, as the ruling caste, stands the Hamitic pastoral Batussi, who invaded Urundi from the north about 400 years ago and who, both here and in the entire interlacustrine region, subjugated the agricultural Bahutu. They are proud, tall figures, often over two meters in height, with sharp profiles and stately posture, so that at first they even impress the well-traveled European. According to official estimates, they number from 40,000 to 50,000 in the whole of Urundi. Besides these giants, the country also shelters the remnants of an original, short, pygmoid population, the Batwa [Twa], who lived here in the forests even before the Bantu and who, together with the forests, were partly destroyed, partly pushed back into remote corners by the other stronger elements. At present there are only a few thousand of them in Urundi and the same number in Ruanda. Their stature ranges mostly between 1.50 meters and 1.60 meters, but they are
[463] strongly built and make a living as hunters, as blacksmiths and potters in the service of others, or as bodyguards of important people and of the king.

Undoubtedly the Batwa are the oldest stratum of population
563 in the entire interlacustrine region. Dispersed in small tribal groups over the country, [7] they lack any kind of social cohesion; nor do they seem to have any traditions about their past. The
[144] Urundi Batwa resemble the Batwa in the forests, but in Urundi they apparently have more Bantu blood in their veins. They are, therefore, somewhat taller and not as pure a type as the Batwa of Ruanda. Both in Urundi and Ruanda and in the northeastern Congo region, the Batwa are in the process of disappearing. Regarded as pariahs both by the Batussi and the Bahutu, they are everywhere treated badly but are at the same time thoroughly exploited. They always look profoundly melancholic and are

563 extremely suspicious; I have rarely seen a Mutwa ["mu-" is prefix for singular] laugh. They are an old, tired race of people, approaching extinction in the not too distant future. For this reason it is high time that the remnants of this people be methodically studied by an ethnological expert during an extended stay. This seems to me to be one of the most rewarding tasks to be accomplished in our East Africa which is so rich in ethnological problems.

The agricultural Bahutu, the main population of Urundi, [162] number approximately one and a half million and belong to the so-called basic Bantu of central East Africa, as also do the Wanjamwesi [Nyamwezi]. According to their traditions, they [173] came to Urundi from the east, that is, from the direction of the southern end of Lake Victoria and spread farther and farther west, clearing the forests. They speak almost the same Bantu [197] dialect as the inhabitants of Ruanda and those of Uha. Strangely enough, their conquerers, the Hamitic Batussi, and the tribe they subjugated, the Batwa, also speak only this Bantu dialect, while in the neighboring states to the east and north the entire population speaks Kinjoro ["Ki-" is a prefix indicating language], in certain parts also Kissumbwa. (Regarding the remnants of an older Kirundi dialect, see p. 148 .) On the [144] other hand, in Urundi and Ruanda the Bantu have changed their ethnic and somatic character somewhat under the influence of [177] their Hamitic conquerors. These, the Batussi, have assumed within the few centuries of their conquest the language, dress (barkcloth), and many customs of the Bantu, but in exchange they have given them something of their blood, their type of dwelling (round huts), their big-horn cattle, and their political organization.

Nothing is known of the history of the Bahutu of Urundi and Ruanda in the period before the rule of the Batussi. Only in conjunction with their Batussi conquerors do the Bahutu step into the light of African history. From then on there exists a history of the Barundi, the political community consisting of Batussi nobility, Bahutu people, and Batwa pariahs (see p. 151 [not translated]).

Batussi

3. Physical Characteristics

114 I have not undertaken anthropological measurements of the Barundi since I was completely occupied by my geographical and ethnographical tasks. My medical companion, Dr. R. Houy (unfortunately murdered in the Cameroons in 1913), whose own field was anthropology but who was at the same time very interested in zoology, found such a rich field in collecting and observing the peculiar fauna of this country that he, too, abstained from the time-consuming anthropological measurements. Thus I had to limit myself to the occasional use of the tape measure and the color scale, and for the rest I can only report general somatic observations.

144 [8] The most impressive of the Barundi people are naturally the ruling tall Batussi (Plates 11, 12, 14). Aside from their heads which in most cases are smoothly shaven, they physically very much resemble their fellow tribesmen in Ruanda. At first glance their Hamitic origin is apparent. On my earlier travels I had often been among the Somali and Galla, and when I was among the Batussi of Urundi and Ruanda it seemed that I had been transported again into the midst of the former, especially the Galla. 141 In one trait, however, the Batussi have an advantage over the Hamites of northern East Africa: they are, on the average, much taller. The most convenient yardstick I carry with me is provided by my own height, and against this I could easily make approximate measurements of the many hundreds of Batussi whom I met. I did not find any adult smaller than 1.77 meters (measured by a tape), few below 1.80 meters, the majority between 1.80 and 1.90 meters, many (about 10 per cent) between 1.90 and 1.95 meters, some few between 1.95 and 2 meters, and a very small number over 2 meters up to an upper limit of 2.08 meters (measured by tape). In spite of their extraordinary 142 height, their body parts are exactly proportioned in relation to each other; not merely are their legs and arms very long but also their torsos which are often so narrow and extended that one can hardly imagine how the internal organs are distributed inside. The impression of abnormal height is further increased by the

142 fact that almost all Batussi are haggard and lean. Only the older batwale (higher officials) and the affluent Baganwa (members of the royal family) have rounded body contours, but fat bellies are rarely seen even among older people. The waist is usually very thin; the chest and shoulders, however, are broad. All these characteristics are most probably the result of a long, more or less conscious natural selection, that is, breeding for great body height (cf. Luschan in Appendix II to No. 40, p. 252).

Most Batussi have sinewy limbs and a firm musculature, but no thick muscular flesh on the arms and legs. Calves are usually entirely lacking. Hands and feet are conspicuously graceful and finely jointed; by our standards they all have narrow ladies' hands with a glove size of 5 or 6 and long fingers, while their feet are narrow and small too, but with short toes. The wrist is so thin that even men can easily insert it into the
[411] slit (2 1/2 to 3 1/2 centimeters wide) in the wooden discs with which they protect their left hand against the recoiling bowstring (see pp. 34 & 82). No adult European is able to do this.
[301] Their copper or iron ornamental rings, worn on the right wrist, are all so narrow that they seem to be made for children. Aris-
[554] tocrats let the nail on the little finger grow to a length of 1 1/2 to 2 1/2 centimeters as a mark of their nobility and their freedom from manual labor.

The neck is rather long and finely formed which gives the head an easy, proud bearing as contrasted with the Bantu Negro with his thick-set neck.

The head is very beautifully formed (Plate 17c, d). Since
[302] the Batussi of Urundi mostly shave it smooth in contradistinction to those who live in Ruanda, one can always admire its high arch, its round, broad forehead, and its extraordinary length which makes the round occiput stretch out far beyond the base
[141] of the neck. Skulls are extremely dolichocephalic.

With regard to facial form, I differentiate two types. The one, more noble, has a finely formed nose with a narrow tip and thin sides, a relatively small mouth, and narrow lips (Plate 17d);

Batussi
Bahutu

142 the other type has a [9] straight or pug nose, a broader nose tip, and a larger, thicker mouth u(Plate 17b). Both types are conspicuously the oval form of the face, the small but pronounced chin, and the complete absence of Negroid prognathism. Yet, 142 frequently, the noble impression of the face is reduced by the 143 fact that the upper front teeth jut out (buck teeth). For this 582 reason the mouth of these individuals mostly remains half open, and one can see the upper four incisors. These crooked teeth, it seems to me, are especially of frequent occurrence among the members of the most distinguished families, both here and in Ruanda; these people are also tallest. Perhaps these two features are special characteristics and result from the long inbreeding of these families, for they marry only among themselves and are severely restricted in their choice (p. 1004-106), while the common Batussi are allowed a wider choice in selecting a mate, and the lowest, poorest class enters into marriages, although not entirely legitimate ones, with the Bahutu as well.

142 If the hair of the head is left unshaven, it is seen to be curly and woolly like that of the Batussi in Ruanda. One also sees at the temples and above the forehead that it does not grow even but in tufts; this is the most Negroid physical feature of the Batussi who, apart from this, do not look like Negroes at all.

142 The second large population group among the Barundi, 144 the Bahutu, who are ruled by the Batussi nobility, have the well-known Bantu physical type, just like all the inhabitants of the interlacustrine area, that is, Ruanda, Mpororo, Ankole, Karagwe, Kisiba, etc. (Plate 6, 8, 9, 10). The differences between them and the Batussi are immediately visible in their short figures, [141] varying between 1.62 and 1.70 meters, and especially in their shorter legs, their thick-set muscular physique which admittedly often looks frail from undernourishment, and in their genuinely prognathous Negroid skull. Somatically they differ very little from the central Bantu of Unjamwesi and Usukuma, although in some respects they resemble the Forest Bantu of the eastern Congo region who formerly probably extended farther toward the east (see p. 152 [not translated]). Their eastern branches

Bahutu
Batussi

142 in Urundi might be compared to the Bakiga [Chiga] in Ruanda.
144 The latter are a tough, strongly built, mountain people who
have cleared the forests and differ from the remaining Bantu
in the same manner as the Forest Bantu who live in the western
mountains of Urundi differ from the other Bantu of Urundi (cf.
also No. 47a, p. 272).

Very often, however, among the Bantu of the interlacustrine
region are to be seen finer, narrower faces with noses
and mouths less broad and with jaws less strongly pronounced
than among the others. This is probably caused by the centuries-old
admixture of Bahima [Hima] blood, for the Hamitic rulers
of the Bantu do in fact often associate with Bantu women but
never, or only very exceptionally, do Bantu men associate with
Bahima women (p. 101). These individuals among the Bahutu
with an admixture of Batussi blood are for the most part taller
[141] than the ordinary Muhutu. All Bahutu are rather dolichocephalic.
The hair is curly and tufted, but not of the "peppercorn" type.

The difference between these two racial elements is also
142 apparent in their skin color. The large majority of the Bahutu
has the color of dark café-au-lait with violet reflections, approximately
Number 28 and 29 of Luschan's color scale. For
many persons, however, the color of the skin resembles the
reddish tinge of the South American highland Indians whom I
know well from former travels [10], which may be ascribed to
the admixture of Batussi blood in some of them, but among the
others to the customary rubdown with red earth and butter. They
then come close to Number 32 of the scale, but only as far as
color value is concerned, not in the intensity of the shade. The
Batussi, on the other hand, are in most cases light chocolate
brown, between Number 26 and 28 of the scale or copper brown
like many Indian tribes. Many show lighter gradations depending
on the effects of the sun, but always with a predominantly
reddish tone, never a yellow-brown or a black one. Batussi
women (Plate 15, 17a) are supposed to be in all cases lighter
than the men -- I have only seen very few -- because they stay
within the homesteads most of the time whereas the Bahutu
women, who while working in the fields expose themselves to

Bahutu
Batwa

142 the sun as much as the men, are the same color as the men (Plate 14b, 16b). Small children are always considerably lighter in skin color.

142 144 The third population group, the Batwa (Plate 7), also have almost the same somatic character in Urundi as their fellow tribesmen in Ruanda. The latter are somewhat better known to us through the work of J. Czekanowski. In Ruanda, especially in the forest areas of Bugoje and the Virunga volcanoes, they have preserved much of their original Pygmy character, for they are still able to lead a withdrawn life of hunting in the forests. Even in Ruanda, however, the majority of them already live as agriculturalists and craftsmen (potters, blacksmiths) dispersed in small communities among the Bahutu and have already received from them a strong admixture of Bantu blood, partly from the Forest Bantu of the eastern Congo region and partly from the central Bantu of the interlacustrine region. This has also happened to the majority of the Batwa of Urundi since, after the expansion of the Bantu and the disappearance of the forests, they too have been forced to settle among the Bahutu and into agriculture (see p. 152 [not translated]). However, we still meet many among them in whom we can recognize, either at first glance or on closer inspection, the pygmoid characteristics familiar to us from the more northern, racially pure Pygmies of the primeval forest (Wambutti [Bambuti]) of the Ruwenzori and of the upper Ituri.

141 Primarily their stature and the form of their limbs are striking in the case of the Mutwa, but whereas the racially pure Batwa of the Ituri are only between 1.30 and 1.40 meters tall, only among the hunting Batwa of Bugoje and the Virunga volcanoes are there individuals between 1.40 and 1.55 meters tall. On the other hand, among those engaged in agriculture among the Bahutu, there are few less than 1.60 meters tall, and many are taller. Without exception the women are shorter than the men. Czekanowski lists an average size of 1.53 meters for the Batwa men of Muhawura and for the women of Muhawura, 1.40 meters; for the Batwa men of the agricultural tribes, however, 1.61 meters, and for the women, 1.54 meters.

Batwa

[141] The latter measurements are in general applicable to the Batwa of Urundi also. All of them have relatively short trunk and 142 limbs. The legs, however, are short in relation to the upper part of the body, but all limbs are well-proportioned and very muscular. The hands and especially the feet are relatively broad and clumsy; the fingers and toes are very short in relation to the back of the hand and the foot. The heel juts out so far in the back that, seen from the side, the lower leg appears to be placed more toward the middle of the foot.

[141] Upon a short neck is set a head which in most cases is fairly round and decidedly brachycephalic, with a short face and broad cheek bones. However, dolichocephalic individuals are not exactly rare. The frontal bone and the arch of the brows usually extend noticeably beyond the face. [11] The nose almost always is indented at the root which causes the forehead to jut out even more; the nose is flat and broad and has a broad, turned-up tip so that one looks into the nostrils. The mouth is of medium size, but the lips are, in most cases, rather thin, and the upper lip often is scarcely arched. The chin is small and somewhat receding. The ears usually have a very small lobe or none at all. The hair is curly, matted, and, whenever closely cropped, stands up in small "peppercorn" tufts, as among the Bushmen of South Africa. Old people have in many cases a very morose or unhappy facial expression due to three or four peculiar wrinkled furrows that run across the forehead, and one or two thick skin folds stretch from each corner of the nose across to the corners of the mouth. They often look almost like swollen scars (see Plate 7).

The skin color of the Batwa is darker than that of the Bahutu, often with a violet tinge even when the skin has been washed clean. In the colored picture in the travelogue of Duke Adolf Friedrich of Mecklenburg, in which a Mutussi, a Muhutu, and a Mutwa are standing side by side, the color of the Muhutu is most faithfully rendered while the Mutussi is too red and the Mutwa too brown.

144 Czekanowski conbines the results of his measurements and his comparisons of the Batwa with the pure Pygmies of the

144 more northerly regions and with the Forest Bantu and Interlacustrine Bantu and comes to the following conclusions: the Batwa are not a homogeneous group, but consist of elements taken from the Pygmies, the Bantu of the primeval forest and, to a lesser degree, the Interlacustrine Bantu also; among the Batwa of the volcanic region the Pygmy type predominates; among those of central Ruanda, the Interlacustrine Bantu type. This latter fact, according to my observations, is also true of Urundi. A surprising fact about the Batwa and one which was demonstrated by Czekanowski is that they show traces of a dolichocephalic Bushman-like element. This trait in conjunction with slight stature has turned up frequently in the works of other observers of East Africa and attracted Czekanowski's attention, especially in the area of Kilimanjaro. Originally the Batwa were "dwarfs," but their body type gradually changed through the admixture of Bantu blood. The farther north we meet Batwa, toward the racially pure Pygmies of the Ituri, the stronger are their pygmoid characteristics; most strongly so among the Batwa of Idschwi Island of Lake Kivu where they are well sheltered from outside influences (No. 31a, 101-109).

[162] Since according to official data the Batwa are only one per cent and the Batussi only about three per cent of the total population of Urundi, the numerical predominance of the Bahutu-Bantu is so great that they entirely determine the overall impression one gets of the Barundi people. Moreover, the Bahutu and also the relatively few Batussi who rule them are somatically, mentally, and culturally so homogeneous throughout Urundi that deviations from the average type are met with only rarely in this great country, excepting those of mixed Bahima blood mentioned above. Of course the Barundi people owe this homogeneity above all to their strict centuries-old seclusion from the outside world. The border areas farthest west on Lake Tanganyika and the Ruzizi River might have worked considerable changes on the Barundi tribes living there, for they do have a much warmer lowland climate, and the great lake might have caused adaptive changes in the way of life of the inhabitants. Moreover, the neighboring Congo tribes are a quite different sort of people. However, even here, no such

144 changes occurred; the ethnic character of the Barundi changes only slightly, in spite of the fact also that political connections with the Mountain Barundi had become much less close.

69) [12] In 1901 Richard Kandt wrote as follows of the Barundi of the Tanganyika lowlands.

"Politically the area between the eastern periphery of the Central African graben and the Ruzizi is divided into from ten to twelve rather small sultanates, most of which probably cover approximately 150 to 200 square kilometers. They are nominally not independent; their rulers, who all belong to the Semitic Watussi of the Galla territories south of Abyssinia, were originally vassals of the king of Urundi, or the 'Muesi' as he is called by title. But although the majority of the inhabitants gives the impression of being almost pure Warundi, the high crest of the peripheral mountains and the broad desolate primeval forest were too convenient a bulwark not to arouse the desire of independence in the population which is hardly affected by grandiose ideas of national unity, the more so since the mother country is also split up into a large number of mutually warring chiefdoms which are only loosely bound to the central power. The only existing remnant of cohesion seems to be the fact that the Muesi has some kind of religious importance which makes his chief think it advisable not to sever all connections with him.

182 If we consider how infinitely different the entire living conditions of the Lake Warundi dwelling near Tanganyika are from those of the Mountain Warundi and how far back the various influences go which affect the Lake Warundi (namely, the presence of the Wasuaheli [Swahili], the Arabs, and the various western tribes following in their footsteps), we are surprised at how stubbornly they have nevertheless remained true in the matter of their external appearance, language, and customs to the peculiarities of their unusually isolated native country. The same is true of the Warundi living in the low valley of the Ruzizi, except that for them the temptation to abandon the customs of their forefathers was considerably smaller, and the farther north they lived, the smaller it became." (No. 22, pp. 339-340.)

Since then the Lake Barundi have not changed much as
164 regards their physical and mental constitution, but the individ-
165 ual tribes were struck by a terrible epidemic of sleeping sick-
ness and were reduced to scarcely a third of their original num-
bers, so that in 1911 I found most of the formerly flourishing
settlements deserted and laid waste. Fortunately the stinging
[136] fly, Glossina palpalis, which carries the infection, has not
penetrated into cool, windy, upper Urundi, and it probably
never will since it does not find favorable conditions there.

4. Mental Traits

000 At this point little will be said about the mental traits
of the Barundi since they can be adequately inferred from the
detailed descriptions of their life and of their material and in-
tellectual culture which will follow. Therefore, I shall give
only a few data about the disposition, temperament, and
character of these three large population groups which differ
so considerably from each other.

Of the Batwa, the more primitive, freer Forest Batwa
151 are also much freer mentally than those who have settled
among the Bahutu and Batussi. Like all hunting tribes, they
are characterized by their extraordinarily sharp senses, the
superiority of which is very often experienced and still feared
by the Bahutu as they advance against the forest in search of
563 arable land. As long as he can still hunt and live, freely
roaming the forest, the Mutwa is very proud of his independence
and looks with contempt upon the Muhutu wretched and bent
low tilling his field, and also on the Village Mutwa living
outside the forests who has to earn his living painfully either
by working in the fields or as a potter or blacksmith. Toward
609 a European the Mutwa is in most cases, if not hostile, at any
rate shy and ostensibly indolent, for even in peaceful inter-
course he is afraid of the sorcery and formidable powers of the
Whites.

563 [13] The Village Batwa are in all circumstances shy and
157 cringing as a result of their social position as pariahs, of which

563 they are reminded daily in living with the two other higher
157 classes of the population. Under this social pressure, their
natural talent has been turned into cunning and craftiness.
However, the Forest Batwa are quite proficient in these arts also.

Being shrewd and realizing their position fully, the Batwa
563 are friendly toward the Batussi, whereas they regard the Bahutu
agriculturalists who destroy the forest with fire and axe as the
robbers of their freedom, and this is the case both in Ruanda and
in Urundi. Just as in Ruanda King Musinga himself keeps an
[64] entire settlement of Batwa at his court in Nyanza, preferring to
entrust the protection of his person and the maintenance of order
to these pariahs hostile to the Bahutu, so also in Urundi most of
the Batwa are to be found near the residences of the chief where
they find work and a livelihood in the service of the Batussi
more easily than anywhere else except among the Bahutu. This
is a symbiosis of the two numerically weaker population elements
against the subjugated Bahutu, a people who number
millions, within which both groups derive advantage.

The over-all character of the Barundi is provided by the large mass of the Bahutu, for although the Batussi are in fact the most striking members of the population because of their external appearance and their ruling position, they are too much in the minority, and in the majority of customs and external forms of culture they have assimilated with the Bahutu. Mentally, however, they are quite different from the Bahutu.

Like all Bantu, the Muhutu is by nature intelligent and
157 has a lively, sanguine temperament. This original trait is
apparent in Urundi and in Ruanda wherever the hand of the
Batussi rulers does not weigh upon them too heavily, i.e., more
so in Urundi where the rule of the Batussi has never been as
despotic as in Ruanda, and, in Urundi, most of all in the north-western
region, independent of the kingdom, where the chief,
Kilima, is himself a Bantu or of mixed blood (see pp. 162,
168, 188 [these pages not translated]), and also in the far south
and in the lowland areas of Lake Tanganyika and the Ruzizi
River. The mental agility, loud speech and lively gestures of
the Bahutu are nowhere as noticeable in Urundi as there in the

157 northwest. In spite of their impulsive behavior, the Bahutu are incapable of any strong exertion of will. They are conservative out of inertia and indifference, and for this reason they cling to the old, habitual concepts and customs. A marked tendency toward everything mystical and supernatural works in the same direction, in spite of the rough sensuality of their physical nature. Much good-naturedness is apparent in their social behavior to their equals and in their warm love for children.

In his contacts with others, whenever no higher class Mutussi is present, the Muhutu is cheerful, loud, and talkative, but in the presence of a Mutussi superior he is serious and reticent. When the Muhutu is able to relax, his imagination is active and is expressed in naïve boasting and bragging. He likes to cheat his fellow countrymen and foreigners and is liable to use physical force if he considers the other person weaker. [609] The European is sure to be told lies by him at first and to have him soon turn impertinent if he does not know how to command 563 his respect. If the European manages this, as the Mutussi 157 always does, the boasting of the Muhutu soon turns into slavish docility and cowardice. This is also the case when he is confronted by serious danger, for example, in war, unless his fear of the Mutussi ruler [14] is even greater than his cowardice and forces him to commit acts which look like the result of great courage and self-imposed discipline. In reality the Bahutu of Urundi have become slaves in thought and desire, as a result of the four centuries of despotism by the Batussi, although theirs is not so slavish an attitude as that of the Banjaruanda [Ruanda] under their monarchic Hamitic rulers.

For the keen observer this enormous influence of the relatively small Batussi minority upon the large mass of the Bahutu is at first impossible to understand, for he soon realizes that the Batussi are by no means the ideal men they seemed to us to be from the first descriptions by Count von Götzen, Dr. Kandt, and others.

Richard Kandt says of the Batussi:

181 "If I analyze my feelings and state them honestly, I must say that I was impressed by them. Even now I have not lost this feeling although my mind rebels against it and although I have told myself hundreds of times that these people are, after all, barbarians far inferior to me intellectually. But it is of no avail! I have explained to myself the source of this feeling, so unusual to experience toward a colored person . . . Apart from the gigantic stature, apart from the nobility of each movement and the dignity of their manner of speech, apart from the tasteful unobtrusive manner in which they dress, apart from their refined features and the calm penetrating, often even mocking and provocative eyes, apart from all this, there still is -- and here I hesitate and am unable to formulate the dim obscure feelings which hover in my imagination." (No. 22, p. 266.)

[564] This is a sentimental but a very understandable judgment. In actual fact the Batussi are a ruling caste, but not a ruling race in the ethical sense.

563 Gradually one discovers the secret of the tremendous
1.86 superiority of the relatively few Batussi over the one and a half
156 million Bahutu: they are greatly superior to them in intelligence,
calmness, composure, cruelty, cunning, racial pride, solidarity,
and political talent. What strikes one most about the individual
Mutussi, apart from his imposing outward appearance which
certainly must have made a great impression on the Muhutu from
the beginning, is first his calm and what appears to be unconcerned
reserve. In his contact with the restless, impulsive,
thoughtless Muhutu, this has always been to his advantage.
[609] Further one is struck by the arrogance he displays even toward
Europeans, by his abysmal mendacity and cowardice when faced
with any disagreeable situation. The Mutussi regards himself
and his kind as the crown of creation, as a paragon of cleverness
and political skill. This is small wonder, for the inferiority of the
relatively few tribes within his sphere of vision -- intentionally
kept narrowly circumscribed -- and the fact that a Batussi minority
rules the large Bahutu people were bound to increase his feeling
186 of importance beyond all measure. It is true that he fears the
609

186 609 European because the latter is in possession of many mysterious powers and resources, for example, the breechloader and technical skills, but he nevertheless considers him basically stupid since he can deceive him, and he looks down upon him with more contempt the less he knows and understands him. As a traveler, one at first has to get used to being looked up and down with a contemptuous smile by most Batussi in conversations and negotiations far from the military posts, and from then on it is best to treat them with a certain amount of humorous derision, provided one is capable of it. The longer one has traveled in Negro areas and the better one has familiarized oneself with Negro character, the more one is impressed when first meeting the Batussi by their proud reserve. There is no restless curiosity [15], no noisy, half fearful, half good-natured greeting as with most Negroes, but, calm and composed, these tall fellows stand there, leaning on their spears, and let the European pass or approach as though the unusual phenomenon did not impress them in the least. It is not until one matches their self-assurance and meets them with some force to back one up that one notices from the restless play of their eyes and the veins in their necks that most of them have a nervous uneasiness, anxiety, and fear concealed behind their apparent indifference.

181 Never or only very seldom does the Mutussi say what he thinks; it has to be inferred. Indeed, lying is not only customary to strangers, but it is a deep-rooted vice practiced toward everyone. This is a moral defect which cannot be glossed over by considering it optimistically, as R. Kandt does, as a "kind of competition between two intellects which to them is not dishonorable," or as "the unconscious transference into real life of their graceful riddle games, unusual for a Negro people, with which even as children they are accustomed to enliven conviviality" (No. 22, p. 273). Such romanticism is misleading in ethnology and ethnopsychology; sober objectivity in the evaluation of our colonial peoples is necessary for practical reasons alone.

In addition to mendacity, laziness and cowardice are also unpleasant character traits of the Batussi. The Mutussi never

181 [461] The Mutussi never works unless he belongs to the lower class, but he takes a sportsman-like interest in his cattle. Work is the concern of the subjugated Bahutu and hence disgraceful to a Mutussi, and only the really poor Batussi will stoop to it. To be rich and powerful and to enjoy life in idleness is for him the essence of wisdom, the ideal which he endeavors to achieve with the utmost cunning and lack of scruple. It is everyone for himself, a maxim which is also adhered to by the Batussi as a whole in their relations to the ruled people, the Bahutu and Batwa.

Naturally this life of pleasure, indulged in for hundreds of years, has done great harm to the character and manly virtues of the Batussi. That they were not without courage, warlike ability, and energy can be easily inferred from the fact that, although they are small in numbers now and doubtless even smaller at one time, they have conquered this large country. Witness also the early history of their royalty (see p. 162 [not translated]). For a long time now, however, they have had their internal and external battles fought for them by their bondsmen, their Bahutu vassals, while they keep themselves cautiously in the background and cunningly direct operations from a safe place. Of course, there are praiseworthy exceptions even here.

In spite of all this, it must be admitted that even in this respect the Barundi are on a higher level than the Banjaruanda. In Urundi the Batussi are not so pleasure-seeking, lazy, mendacious, violent, and cowardly as those in Ruanda, nor are the Bahutu so servile and hypocritical toward superiors and so insolent toward the weak as they are there, nor does the king along with the lords living at his court indulge to such a degree in idleness, revelry, intrigues, and the satisfaction of vicious and cruel instincts as does the one in Ruanda.

563 [556] In Urundi, as well as in Ruanda, it is above all the will to power and the desire for pleasure which have caused the ruling Batussi to keep the greatest form of wealth, cattle, to themselves. By this means alone they have created for themselves, an economic power over [16] the mass of the Bahutu which also provides the surest foundation for their political predominance [754] (see pp. 41-42). In addition they have cleverly succeeded in

563 acquiring a reputation among the superstitious Bahutu of being
[154] great sorcerers and have made themselves greatly feared for
this reason. Also, the priesthood works hand in hand with them
to enslave and exploit the people (see p. 134). The exploita-
563 tion of the mass of the people and the crass egoism of the small
642 Batussi minority are made possible by the whole ingenious
political system of both the Barundi and the Banjaruanda, with
its strict legal separation of races and castes, with the rigidly
graded system of vassals and supervising officials, the
hierarchy of priests, privileged families, princes, etc. All this
will be described in detail in later chapters of this book. The
astonishing political acumen of the Batussi merely promotes
the selfishness with which they exploit the subject Bahutu. There
is no trace of any higher conception of the state.

For this reason it is natural that the Bahutu regard the
563 Batussi only as conquerors of a different tribe whose yoke weighs
181 heavily on them. Yet, although they hate the Batussi, they
make no effort to free themselves from their bondage for, like
almost all Negro peoples, their nature necessitates subordination
under a firm guiding hand. Moreover, their fear of the Batussi
is so great that they would not hazard an open rebellion against
them. Indeed, though few in numbers, the Batussi are vastly
563 superior to the Bahutu in intelligence and in the fact that a
186 solidarity exists among them which is constantly being renewed
under the impulse of common interests. The Bahutu, on the
other hand, are split up into a number of mutually warring clans
and tribal groups, lack any sort of genuine national conscious-
ness, and are being played off against each other in an ingenious
manner by the Batussi.

000 As long as the Batussi are the rulers in the country, an intellectual and cultural revival of the Barundi people is impossible, for it is only the present depressed condition of the Bahutu, maintained through hundreds of years of seclusion, that guarantees the domination of the Batussi. For the time being, however, we Germans must collaborate with the Batussi and interest them materially in our projects in Urundi since we are still too weak to meet an open attack on their part. The goal of our long term colonial policy, however, must be to crush the

000 rule of the Batussi, liberate the Bahutu from the yoke of the Batussi, and win them over to our civilizing aims which are, at the same time, in their very own interest.

181 In conclusion, I shall cite a very acute judgment of the Barundi in general by R. Kandt: "The Warundi, it is true, are as cowardly as the Wanjaruanda but -- being in any case more lively and intelligent -- they are also more boastful and impertinent. In those days I never rid myself of the impression that all these histrionics, these war games, etc., were the expression of real street Arab mentality. For this reason I also believe that it will be more difficult to bring about a satisfactory state of affairs in Urundi than in Ruanda. Nevertheless, we shall never have such difficulties with either of them as might necessitate the far-reaching and dangerous defensive operations which were conducted in Uhehe, for example. These peoples, emasculated by centuries of bondage, do not know - and this is good -- what latent power lies dormant in the bodies of innumerable millions, and, lacking any deeper national consciousness, they will be the convenient tools of an intelligent colonization based on a knowledge of the country and language. They will never conceive of banding together in a united defense against foreign invasion. To arouse them from this slumber and to goad them into a united defiance of the Europeans would require such brutal clumsiness on the part of the administrators that probably none of us or our grandchildren need be afraid of experiencing the horror of it." (No. 22, pp. 325-326.)

[17] Chapter 2

Settlement, Dwellings, Food

361 In Urundi and Ruanda the surface character of the country, the form and type of its plateaus, hills, mountains, and valleys, determine the form and location of the settlements.

133 361 By far the largest part of the country is a tableland which powerful erosion has dissected into innumerable long and short ridges with flattened tops and chains of hills with frequently deep and rather steep valley escarpments. The majority of the valleys are filled by papyrus swamps which can only be crossed in a few places. Hence it is not the valleys, as in our part of the world, but the high places that provide the most suitable settlement sites. The marshes in the valley bottoms, the hot stagnant air in the lowlands, the myriads of mosquitoes and gnats, and the valley slopes which in many places are very steep cause the people with their roads and settlements to resort to the free, airy plateaus and hill tops, while in most valleys the only fields are of such crops as require much moisture. In most areas of Urundi and Ruanda the valleys serve not to unite people but to separate them. In both regions the division of the people and the state into small communities is, therefore, determined by natural causes (see p. 89). For this reason also, the future opening up of the country by means of roads or railroads is rendered unusually difficult. The valleys in many parts of the eastern drier quartzite regions are much less swampy and less steep. There also, the surfaces of the plateau ridges and of the hill ranges are everywhere so stony and sterile due to weathered quartzite fragments (see Plate 2b) that the people avoid the high land and prefer to settle on the sides of valleys where the springs break out below the crevassed quartzite on the upper line of stratification of the almost impermeable argillite and where the argillaceous residual soil is more fertile and easier to till than the quartzite lying above.

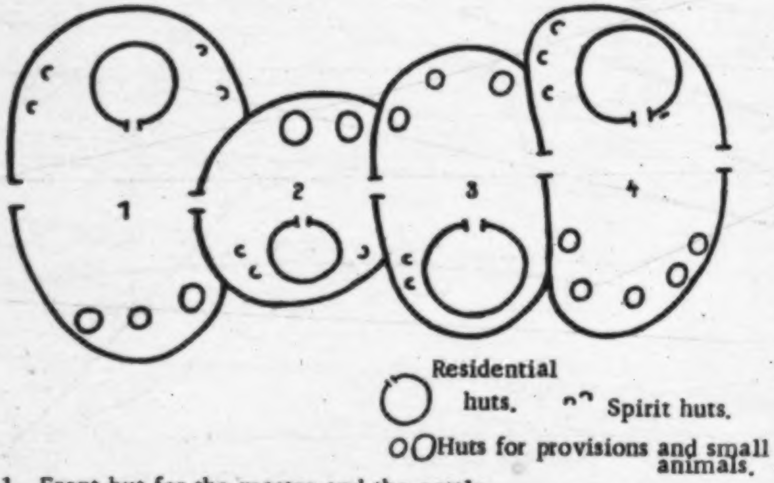
This natural diversity among the areas is in itself an ex-
161 planation of why the population is rather unevenly distributed
over the country.

The government estimates the number of natives in Urundi at one and a half to two million ("Die deutschen Schutzgebiete 1912-13," *Amtliche Jahresberichte* ["The German Protectorates 1912-13," *Official Annual Reports*], pp. 8-9). This large margin is an indication that official censuses in the individual areas have so far not been possible. Both here and in Ruanda only the drawing up of tax registers will some day

161 furnish more accurate figures. According to my own and other recent estimates, the figure of two million is too high; one and a half million is probably closer to the truth. However, a few missionaries, among them Father van der Burgt, have estimated even more than two million. [18] There are relatively fewer Batussi in Urundi than in Ruanda; they constitute 162 563 hardly five per cent and probably only two or three per cent of the total population, i.e., 40,000-50,000 in Urundi. For them, too, van der Burgt assumes a much higher percentage: 15-20 per cent as against only five per cent for the Batwa. Apart from the mass of native Bahutu, there were in 1912-13 still about 2,500 other Negroes (Wasuaheli, Wanjamwesi, Manjema, and others) in the country, and, in addition, one or two dozen Arabs, two or three dozen Indians, and approximately five dozen Whites, half of them Germans and about 20 Frenchmen and Frenchwomen (missionaries).

On the whole Urundi and Uha are not by any means as 161 densely populated as Ruanda which has 72 inhabitants per square kilometer. [Fig. 1 appears here in original text.] The official estimate for 1912-13 gives an average of 51 inhabitants per square kilometer for Urundi (or 68, if one puts the total population at two million). On the whole the density of population increases from east to west. In the west the valleys and the broad ridges of the peripheral mountains are most densely populated; hence they are almost entirely cleared of timber. There, there are an estimated 50 to 60 people per square kilometer or, in other words, a density of population approximately equal to that of Portugal. Any comparison with Germany with its 120 inhabitants per square kilometer would be inappropriate since the area of utilizable land is relatively much smaller in Urundi than in Germany due to the many swampy valleys and quartzite wastes. The most densely populated parts are the 161 133 areas of granite, crystalline schist, mica schist, amphibolites, diabases, etc., which comprise the more elevated western portion of Urundi where the rainfall is higher and which form fertile residual soils. Of the less elevated, large slate and

[Text continues on page 29]


1
2
3
4
Residential huts.
Spirit huts.
Huts for provisions and small animals.

1. Front hut for the master and the cattle.
2 and 3. Center huts for women and children.
4. Rear hut for the servants.

Fig. 1. Homestead of a Barundi Lord.
(Sketch by Hans Meyer.)

161 quartzite areas adjoining to the east, the latter are the more
[133] sterile and, for this reason, less populated and cultivated. [19]
One observes the same phenomenon in Ruanda. In the more
[311] humid areas where bananas are grown, the banana plantations
cover large areas and thus give the illusion of a relatively dense
population, whereas in fact only a few huts are to be found in
them.

592 The Batussi and Bahutu families are rather rich in chil-
dren, as in Ruanda. Individually the Batussi women are less
[842] fertile than the Bahutu women, but in general there are seldom
fewer than three children in each family and in many cases
(among the Bahutu) between six and eight and correspondingly
more if the husband has several wives. Usually each married
couple lives with its children in a single hut. However, if
[595] there are many children or several wives, each mother lives
in a separate hut with her youngest children. Grandparents and
unmarried adults also have huts to themselves. Thus, there
are often between two and four residential huts and several huts
for grain and cattle in one kraal, or several fenced-in residential
huts plus outhouses are combined in one large homestead (see
Fig. 1).

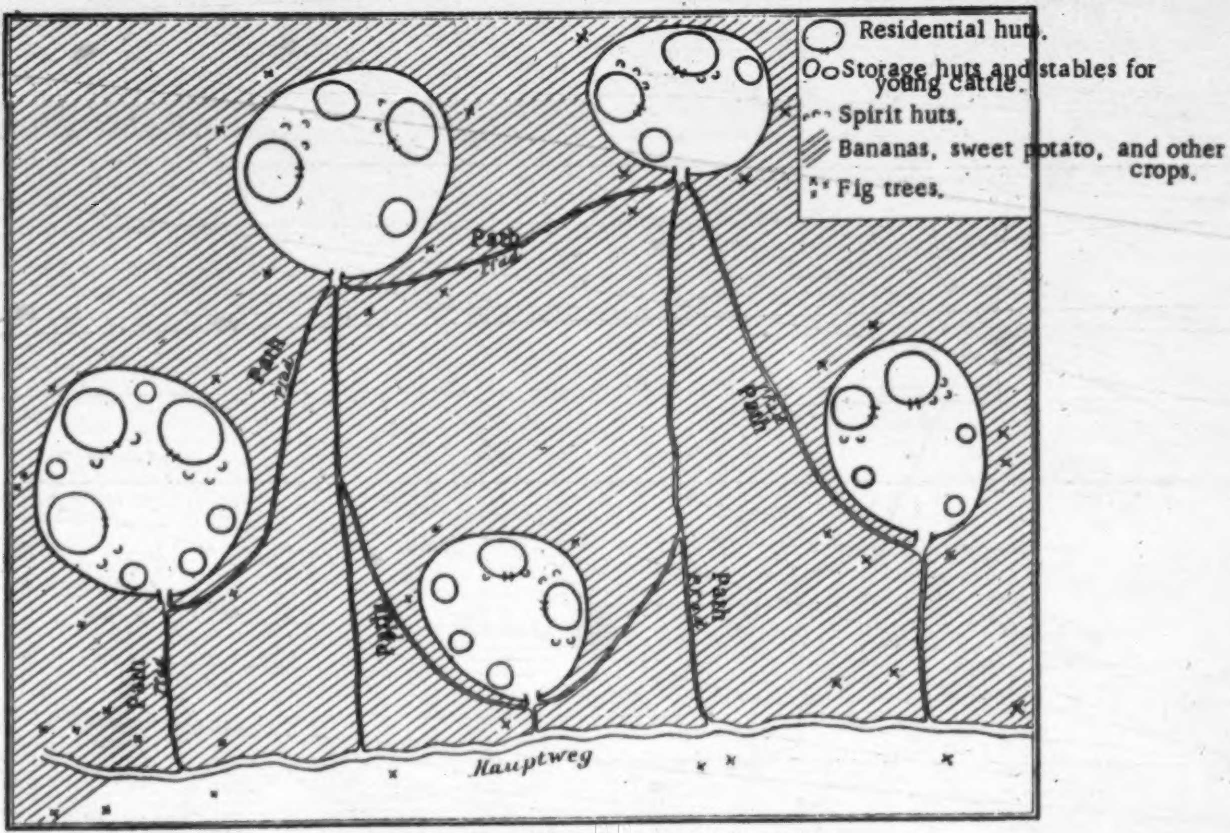
361 The settlement pattern is that of *individual* establish-
ments, the fenced-in kraal, hamlet, courtyard (*lugo*, *urugo*).
Each homestead stands alone, surrounded by its fig trees and
its banana plantation if it is in the banana region (Plates
18, 21b). In most cases, however, there are several kraals
belonging to the extended family circle, situated next to each
other within calling distance so that village-like clusters
(*ikisagara*) are formed (see Fig. 2 and Plate 19a). Outside ex-
tend the fields. Of course, this is especially true for the
settlements of the Bahutu, for among the Batussi only the
poorest and lowest classes cultivate the fields. The kraals or
clusters of kraals belonging to the more prosperous Batussi are
scattered over the grassy pastures used by their cattle and sur-
rounded by high hedges of euphorbia and fig trees without
banana groves or fields. The distances between kraal clusters

361 and villages differ considerably depending on the quality of
the soil. In the densely populated western districts one passes
a cluster of homesteads every quarter or half hour, but in the
thinly populated eastern districts one sometimes travels over
an hour without seeing or passing a courtyard or a village.

One never sees many people outside, neither on the roads,
363 near the grazing cattle, nor in the fields. Only close to the
huts and within the kraals does one see people walking, standing,
and squatting in groups. Old people 70 years old and older
145 are extremely rare. Very few seem to live beyond the age of
60, and this seems to be more often the case with the Batussi
than with the Bahutu.

According to missionaries' reports, the population has
161 been increasing during the last ten years or so, since the petty
wars between the batwale and the princes and the invasions of
the Banjaruanda and the Baha [Ha] have become rarer and less
bloody. Only in the Tanganyika region which has been hit by
164 sleeping sickness has the population decreased considerably.
731 In the rest of Urundi the number of inhabitants is occasionally
reduced considerably by smallpox epidemics or by crop failures,
which are especially fatal to children, but such famines are
relatively rare. In 1892, 1896, 1904-5 and 1908, rinderpest,
bad harvests, and smallpox caused great devastations. In 1910
the distress resulting from drought in eastern Urundi was so
great that the mission at Mujaga had to buy up large amounts
of manioc and beans in Uha for their natives. Some travelers
181 claim that the majority of the Bahutu are waiting to be liberated
from their conquerors. I cannot confirm this from my observations.
[20] [Fig. 2 appears here in original text.] [21] The
enthusiastic reception that the Bahutu gave at the time to the first
European arriving there, Oskar Baumann in Urundi and Count
Götzen in Ruanda, did indeed spring from the traditional hope
for a great new conqueror who would usher in a golden age, but
like all East African Bantu the Bahutu of Urundi and Ruanda do
not in the least thirst for freedom. As has been mentioned above,
they are submissive and dependent on others; they are happiest
under firm authority and as accustomed to the discipline of their

[Text continues on page 31]


Residential huts.
Storage huts and stables for young cattle.
Spirit huts.
Bananas, sweet potato, and other crops.
Fig trees.
Path
Pfad
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Path
Pfad
Hauptweg

Fig. 2. Barundi Village. (Sketch by Hans Meyer.)

181 Batussi masters as they formerly were to the scarcely more lenient rule of their Bantu chiefs. When one comes from Ruanda which is governed on a rigid monarchical basis, one is astonished at how much freer, happier, and noisier, but also with how much less discipline the Barundi live and behave under their Batussi batwale than in Ruanda.

361 Predominantly agriculturists and breeders of small cattle,
221 the Bahutu are completely sedentary. The Batussi, who own
233 all the big cattle, also have permanent dwellings, but during the dry months they engage in a kind of alpine farming with their herds of cattle in the fresher pastures of the mountains, as though in memory of their former life as nomads. This will be described in more detail later in our discussion of stock farming (see p.40).

342 The residential huts (insu) of the Barundi differ essentially neither in form nor in structure, technique or material, from those of the Banjaruanda. Externally they are usually somewhat flatter than the huts in Ruanda; they have the shape of an umbrella rather than a beehive. Yet both in Urundi and Ruanda the crinoline-like frame is bound together by means of wooden poles or, wherever there is bamboo, by means of bamboo poles, the empty spaces between them being filled with vertical and horizontal layers of sorghum stalks. The superimposed, flat, hemispherical roof is not supported by a single pole in the center, but by a number of them evenly distributed in the hut. The entire frame is covered down to the ground with straw of tall grass (sedge, not reeds), and in some regions with dry banana leaves. As a protection against rain, a stick with a wisp of straw which spreads out at the bottom is fastened at the point of the roof. The opening for the door with the somewhat protruding door roof resembles that of the Ruanda house, but its side walls are interwoven less carefully than those of the Ruanda house. The door opening is closed by a coarsely plaited screen, kept in place by a stick propped against it. Except for the single door, there is no opening in the entire structure (Plate 18). Thus, the smoke must escape through the door. The entire hut can be lifted by several men and shifted to a

342 nearby site when the family changes its place of residence.
If the huts are very much inferior in their outward appearance and in the care with which they are built to those
of Ruanda, this is even more true of their interiors. Here, as
in Ruanda, the interior supporting poles are used to fasten
[285] several woven screens, higher than a man and made of papyrus,
reed stalks, or bamboo laths. These divide the hut into two
or more separate living, sleeping, and store rooms. Many of
these woven screens have the shape of a bent shield, as in
Ruanda. In Urundi, however, very few of them are plaited
as delicately and figured as beautifully as the shield-shaped
wall screens and mats which in Ruanda cover the walls all
around [22] and separate the various rooms from each other,
admirably decorating not only the huts of the Batussi but often
also those of prosperous Bahutu. Usually only two rooms are
separated from each other by mats in this way: the front room
(umurjango), which serves as a living room, kitchen, and
dining room during the day, and the rear room (akagiro) which
513 serves as a bedroom. In the latter, the parents' bed space
352 is also separated from the sleeping place of the children by
mat screens. Here most of the Barundi sleep simply on a
bundle of straw which they cover with a cowhide or goatskin.
However, where a bedstead does exist, it consists of four short
posts rammed into the ground and a wooden frame fastened on
them which is filled with laths and covered with a mat. In
Urundi, as well as in Ruanda, Mpororó, Ankole, etc., such
bedsteads are owned only by the distinguished and the rich.

352 . Wooden stools to sit on, like the ones used elsewhere in
East Africa, are nonexistent in Urundi and Ruanda, or they
exist only as a foreign import from Unjamwesi, Usâmbiro, etc.

Even in the dwelling of the powerful chief Lusabiko in
East Urundi there was "not a single stool or log to sit on. Only
a few thick bundles of straw were lying in a corner; they
could be drawn toward one if he did not wish to squat on the
ground. If one desires to sleep, the bundle is unfastened, and
[513] a soft bed is made. In the homes of rich persons a hairy ox
hide is placed over it before sitting or lying down." (No. 14,
1901, p. 214.)

342 In constructing a house, not a single nail, wooden plug,
or peg is used, but the entire structure of stakes and wickerwork
is usually tied firmly together with fresh bast from the bark of a
[289] fig tree or with spliced fibres of banana trunks or papyrus stalks.
The height of the huts varies between two and four meters (in
Ruanda as much as eight meters); the diameter is between
three and six meters.

In Urundi I did not see residential huts of any other shape,
but, according to Baumann, there are residential huts with a
cylindrical bamboo substructure on the upper Kagera (No. 4,
[343] p. 218). In Urundi I have seen these used only as storage huts
in the mountains where bamboo grows.

As has already been mentioned above, each family has
its own hut, and if there are several wives, each wife has her
own hut. There are no special houses for bachelors, unmarried
women, strangers, communal gatherings, or for specific societies.
However, there are half-open roughly constructed work huts for
343 blacksmiths and smaller well-built huts for young cattle
(uruhongore) and for the storage of field crops (ivikeka). The
[251] storage huts are shaped like baskets, tapering toward the bottom,
and are twice a person's height. They are covered with a flat,
conical straw roof which is usually removable (see p. 56). All
this stands on a low grate of wooden poles to protect the hut
346 yet very close to it, there usually stand a few small spirit huts
778 (ikigabiro), not more than a meter high, made of straw and
[782] reeds. In these the spirits are offered meat, milk, or produce
of the soil in pieces of broken pots or pumpkin shells (see pp.
[776] 121, 135, and Plate 18a). Another miniature hut (ikitabo) is
dedicated to the chief god, Riangombe or Kiranga. One sees
many more of these huts in Urundi, Uha, and Ussumbwa than
in Ruanda.

364 The Barundi, and above all, the Bahutu, are far from
exemplifying the great cleanliness which usually prevails in
356 the vicinity of the huts in Ruanda; [23] they throw garbage
342 next to the hut and defecate in the banana grove surrounding
[514] the huts, but the coprophagous dogs and vultures, wherever
they exist, make it their business to remove the worst.

364 they exist, make it their business to remove the worst. According
356 to the descriptions of most travelers, cleanliness and care
342 in the construction of huts and farmsteads seem to be least in north and northeast Urundi. Personally, however, on my journey across central Urundi I found the most beautiful settlements in the west and the dirtiest and worst constructed in the east. Von Trotha, for instance, says of northeast Urundi: "The indifference of the people toward cleanliness and careful construction of houses is incredible. Only the chiefs have well-built dwellings, and in the environs of their houses dirt is not yet piled up like a fortress as is the case among their subjects" (No. 8, p. 62).

356 When the hut becomes old and dilapidated, it is repaired, but even so it hardly ever lasts longer than five or six years. After that time it has to be completely rebuilt. After the owner's
429 death the widow or unmarried children continue to live in it, and after the family has been dissolved, the house is torn down.

Since each farmstead may include up to six or eight
592 residential huts, depending on the prosperity of the owner and
361 how many wives he has, and since a cluster of kraals or a village often contains four, six, or more kraals, a village may shelter up to 60, 80, and more people. Usually the settlements are smaller, although in banana-growing regions the wide expanse of banana plantations, among which the kraals of the Bahutu are hidden, may create the impression that the villages or clusters of homesteads are much larger.

556 Rich people and the Batussi lords, however, are not content
592 with a single kraal including several huts. They build
342 several kraals adjoining each other so that it is possible to pass directly from one to another. The front hut serves as a living and reception room for the master of the house and also as a shelter for the cattle at night; the center huts are for the women and children; and the rear hut is for the servants and is used as a kitchen and storage place, the cooking place, etc. (see Fig. 1). For the rest, the huts and homesteads of the lords, princes, or even of the king scarcely differ from those of the common Batussi and of the "better" Bahutu, either in their furnishings or in their cleanliness; they are merely larger than the latter.

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The enclosure (ingo) around the majority of the kraals both in Urundi and Ruanda is not only intended as a means of protection against human or animal intruders, but it also serves to enclose the family, especially the small children, and to keep the cattle penned in at night (Plate 20a, 21b). If the inhabitants have no cattle, they usually have no fences around their huts. This is the case, for example, in some mountain regions of northwest Urundi and in a few districts of western central Urundi. Wherever fences do exist, they are higher than a man so that one cannot see over them. Depending on what material is available, they consist of dry trunks of banana trees, sorghum stalks, papyrus shafts, or the dry branches of the Acanthus arboreus, roughly but firmly tied together, or they are formed by closely planted living dracaena, fig trees, or euphorbias. I never saw stones piled up so as to make a wall, although there are enough blocks of stone there to serve this purpose. The entrance to the kraal, which is flanked by two strong poles, is blocked at night by trunks placed across it. [24]

The kraals of the Batussi are in most cases more carefully and firmly enclosed than those of the Bahutu. In some areas settled predominantly by Batussi, for example, in the extensive highland pasture areas on the eastern slope of the peripheral mountains of Tanganyika on the upper Muwarasi, "each house is a small fortress with three concentric defenses. Within the protective wall (probably made of piled earth, there is a plaited cane fence, behind this one of euphorbias, and finally one made of thorns" (No. 8, p. 73).

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[287]
Even when the hedge does not consist of fig trees planted close to one another, there are almost always a number of fig trees around the kraal, this being more often the case here than in Ruanda. These trees provide not only shade for the kraal, but also bark which is used in a variety of ways, in particular for making clothes (Plate 18a, 21a). As in Ruanda, such circular groups of fig trees enable one to note the sites of former kraals, particularly those of chiefs, many years after the huts have

351 disappeared. Yet, I did not find any trees at all at the resi-
[249] dence of the great chief Kilima (see pp. 162, 188 [these pages
not translated]) in northwest Urundi. Four large round kraals
are situated there on an open round mountain top at an altitude
of 2,150 meters, affording a wonderful view of the neighboring
deep valleys and long mountain chains. Each kraal is surrounded
[417] by a thick bamboo palisade, twice as high as a man, enclosing
six to eight spacious round huts. There is no tree, green fence
pole, or even a banana leaf anywhere near it. The entire complex
stands on the commanding steep mountain top, like a fort
built for defense.

In other parts of the border districts adjoining Ruanda, the
361 houses are sometimes crowded together into whole villages surrounded
by strong protective fences. Indeed, Captain Bethe
even found "a large city of natives, a compact community living
together" (Deutsches Kolonialblatt [German Colonial Journal,
1899, p. 9) in Iwusome on Lake Rugwero in northeastern Urundi.
However, these are exceptions to the general practice of living in
individual kraals and occur only in a few exposed border regions.

The fireplace (isiko) is usually in the main center room
354 of the hut. I intentionally do not use the word "hearth," for
usually it consists of a few stones which may be pushed together
on a round platform of pounded clay in such a way that a fire
may be built in the center and a cooking pot placed on top.
Sometimes also, the fire is placed on a thick round plate of
fired clay in the same manner as in Ruanda; its periphery is raised
in the form of a roll to prevent the fire from being scattered.
372 When the embers cease to glow, which is very seldom, fire is
obtained from one's neighbor. On long travels, however, fire
is made in the well-known manner of the Bantu, when wood is
available, by twirling a hard piece of wood on a soft one; otherwise,
a glowing piece of coal is tied up in a bundle of slightly
wet grass and carried along. In this manner they carry embers
with them on journeys lasting several days.

Yet since firewood is often very scarce in a country almost
destitute of trees and bushes, cakes of cattle dung dried
in the sun are used for fuel or, wherever there are no cattle or
only a few, papyrus or reed rootstocks are collected in the
swampy valleys.

000 swampy valleys. Acrid smoke fills the entire hut. Add to all
362 this several adults, some of whom in many cases may be
smoking tobacco, half a dozen children, a few goats, dogs,
and chickens, and if during bad weather or at night the only
[136] opening of the hut is closed and the rats, which are to be found
in every hut, [25] begin their sport, it is easy to imagine how
refreshing it is for any non-Murundi to stay in such a hut.

252 Cooking (kuteka) in and outside the hut is the business of
[462] the wife, assisted, if necessary, by the children. A man will
cook only if he has to, for example, while traveling. The
415 only cooking utensil used is the earthen cooking pot (inkono),
made by the Batwa potters (see p. 78) or by women who have
mastered the art of pottery (Plate 48). Large earthenware pots
(imiwindi) with a capacity of up to 20 liters serve as water
containers and for preserving pombe beer. Wooden bowls or
pumpkin shells are used as ladles. Milk is kept in carved wooden
vessels (iwango), generally of unwieldy shape. As among the
[251] Banjaruanda, they are rinsed with cow urine each time before
being filled so as to preserve the milk better. Butter, which is
[234] never eaten but used only for rubbing the body, is produced by
[302] shaking the curdled milk in large bottle gourds, and it is always in a half liquid state. The large earthenware vessels all
have a round bottom and stand on the ground of the hut, propped
up by stones, while various wooden and gourd vessels (ubwato,
akako) stand between the latticework of the walls or are suspended
in wide-meshed nets. The wooden milk vessels are placed on a
bench-like frame near the fireplace along the wall. There are no
spoons, only wooden ladles which are often nicely decorated
[531] with carved linear designs. The boiling mush is stirred with a
broad wooden spatula ("matchstick") (No. 1 of Plate 46), and
when the meal is ready, it is heaped on shallow wooden or
264 woven bowls. In the customary fashion of Negroes it is then
formed into little lumps with one's fingers, dipped into one of
the boiled herb sauces, and pushed into the mouth.

252 In front of every house there is a wooden mortar (isekuro),
243 shaped either like a cylinder or an hourglass. In this the women
[412] separate the grain from the husks and panicles, or in other words
"thresh," by means of a wooden pestle which they pound rhythmically in turn.

252 The winnowing of the grain and disposal of the spelt [sic] is
243 usually done by men by means of large, very flat baskets or
[415] "riddles." Finally, the flour is spread out on these same flat
baskets after the woman has made it by grinding the grain on
a millstone (uruschjo), one of which also lies in front of each
hut. All this is done very much in the same manner as in
Ruanda and among the other peoples of the interlacustrine re-
gion (No. 19, pp. 371-372, 451-452).

Most Batussi have only one hot meal a day, and they eat
264 it in the evening. The Bahutu, however, have two: the first
meal around noon, the second in the evening between seven
and eight o'clock. The Batwa do not seem to be bound to any
particular mealtime. When the Batussi and Bahutu feel hungry
in the meantime, especially in the morning, they eat cold food,
like cooked sweet potatoes, manioc, roasted corn, peanuts,
272 etc. Milk is drunk either fresh or sour; the Batussi are par-
ticularly fond of whisked sour milk. In order always to have
484 fresh milk when traveling, prosperous Batussi take several milch
cows and the necessary personnel along on their trip. Meat is
[252] mostly roasted on the spit or dried by smoking or in the sun.
262 Yet meat is seldom enjoyed, for the Batussi of Urundi, like
those of all the other Bahima states, eat only beef, and they
do this only when the animals are sterile or too old to breed,
or when an animal is killed to be sacrificed (cf. pp. 103, 136).
The Bahutu get beef [26] only when the Batussi who own the
cattle give them some. As for meat from the goats or sheep
they have allotted to them, this they eat only when an animal
is slaughtered for its hide which is used for making clothes.
More meat is allotted to the Batwa who serve as guards, police-
men, musicians, etc., at the "courts" of their Batussi rulers.
231 One will find relatively few goats and sheep in Urundi, although
enormous herds existed in former times. They have disappeared
to a large extent as a result of the exploitative economy prac-
ticed by the traveling merchants since 1906. Chickens and eggs
262 are not eaten either and are used only for sacrificial purposes
or for prophecy (see p. 47). Since hunting also seldom provides

Since hunting also seldom provides
262 anything for the kitchen - the Barundi are poor hunters and,
[224] except for the Batwa, do not eat venison or if they do, only on
exceptional occasions -- and since wild plants are seldom used
for food, the menu is rather limited. The main food items for
the whole of Urundi are bananas, beans, peas, sweet potatoes,
and sorghum; all these are dried, ground, and prepared as
mush. All the other things produced by the fields at different
altitudes and in areas of different climate (see the chapter on
agriculture, p. 48) play only a subordinate role.

It is true that when speaking to a European or a Muhutu
the Batussi claim that they live only on milk, meat, and beer,
but in reality they eat legumes, bananas, millet mush, and
other foods exactly like the Bahutu. After all, not enough
cattle are killed in the area to satisfy all the Batussi every day.
252 Except for meat, which, as has been mentioned, is almost
always roasted on the spit, most dishes by far are cooked or
stewed; only very few are fried in grease or oil as, for example, in the Tanganyika region where palm oil is plentiful.

262 As far as special rules concerning food are concerned,
264 I have discovered a number of food taboos connected with
totemism and religious ideas (see p. 103). It is surprising that
one never sees adults eating. They always take their meals
inside the huts, the man together with his wife but apart
from the children, and if they are ever caught at their meals,
they stop and go away since the food would "not agree" with
them if eaten in the presence of strangers. Of course, this is
262 not the case when they are traveling. In that case the force
261 of external circumstances often frees them from such considerations; yet conscientious or rigidly trained people, as most of
the Batussi are, observe the custom so strictly even while
traveling that they will go hungry rather than depart from it.
When climbing the Karisimbi, for example, I had two young
Batussi guides who, in spite of the extreme physical exertion
involved, refused all the food I offered them and did not eat
anything for two days because they did not have their customary
mush and milk, nor did they accept anything from the people in
my caravan.

[27] Chapter 3

Ornaments, Clothing, Weapons

301 The Barundi have very few body ornaments. Men and women wear thin rings of copper or iron wire around the ankles and above the wrist, or catgut strings with thin wire wrapped around them, and also more rarely a thick iron ring around the wrist. The men in particular wear an ornament around their necks which is unknown in Ruanda: a triangular section as thick as a finger, cut from a white shell (ikiresi), hanging on a string; for the most part it is imported from Unjamwesi (No. 19, p. 406) where men also wear it. Similarly, a polished boar's or hippopotamus tooth is worn on a string around the neck (Plate 33). More frequent these days are simple chains of pearls made of small pale pink or white European pearls; more rare are strings with small spindle-shaped wooden pegs strung in a row, with inlaid brass or copper discs like mosaics, or with all kinds of pieces of roots, animals' claws, goats' horns, etc., used as amulets (see p. 32). Small conical or bell-shaped pendants of copper or iron are also often worn in great numbers around the neck (umuhare, (Figs. 3 and 4). The thick disc-shaped wooden ring (ikirinsi), which many Barundi wear around their wrist to protect it from the recoiling bowstring when shooting (see p. 34 and Plates 11, 12b, 13, 30a), is often also merely an ornament. Although it is 20 to 25 centimeters in diameter and despite the delicate structure of the Barundi hand on which it is worn, this disc-ring nevertheless does not look clumsy since it is elegantly formed and inlaid [28] with various linear brass or copper ornaments (Plates 42, 43). The incision on its side through which the disc is slipped on the wrist is so narrow -- two and a half to three and a half centimeters -- that it is hard to see how a man's wrist can be pushed

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through it. A smooth ball the size of a plum and carved from fruit pits is a sign of rank or is a valuable amulet among the highborn. It is worn on top of the smoothly shaven head on a narrow strip of leather that passes around the back of the head.

[Text continues on page 41]

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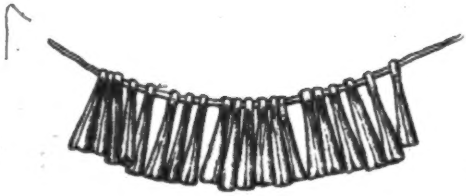

Fig. 3. Conical Pendants of Copper. Neck Ornament and Amulet filled with "Medicine." (Ethnological Museum, Berlin.)

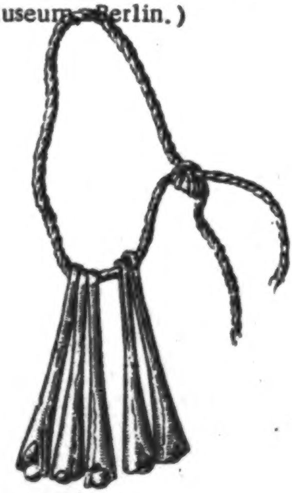

Fig. 4. Iron Bells as Neck Ornament. (Ethnological Museum, Berlin.)

901 554 Often a second strip of leather, without the ball, however, goes around the head from the back to the center of the forehead. I have never seen this form of ornament worn by the Bahutu or the common Batussi but only by members of the royal kin group (Baganwa) and by the high batwale (see Plates 11, 13, 14).

302 The hair style of the Barundi is very simple. According to the reports of former travelers, there was much greater variety years ago; today the large majority shave the head completely. For this purpose, after the hair has been somewhat softened with warm water, they use a short shaving knife without a handle. Many of them leave a small, round tuft of hair on top of their heads, more rarely a remnant of hair in a different form. The children frequently appear in long "poodle locks"; they then look like Galla or Somali children (Plate 12b, 16a). The heads of women and girls are usually smooth shaven. If they wear hair, they comb it with wooden combs (Fig. 5). The men also shave their beards; axillary and pubic hair are removed among the Batussi, but not among the Bahutu who have very little anyway. The two bristly fringes of hair running diagonally across the head, which are a national trait of the Banjaruanda, are very seldom seen on a Murundi.

302 515 Common to the Batussi of both regions is the care of the skin by means of various cosmetics. Rubbing with half-liquid butter is the most frequent. Most by far of the butter produced is used for this purpose, and often some raw laterite and the juice of fragrant herbs is added to this skin ointment. Those people who have no cows and, consequently, no butter, such as most of the Bahutu, cannot smear themselves with butter. If this ointment is put on fresh every day, it is quite appetizing and nice, but if, as frequently happens, the butter turns rancid and combines with the smell of sweat and the stench of smoky huts and stables, the fellows stink so much that one can smell them at a distance of ten paces even in the dark of the night. Yet I must say in defense of the Barundi that they like to take a bath whenever water is plentiful, i.e., when drawing

[Text continues on page 42]

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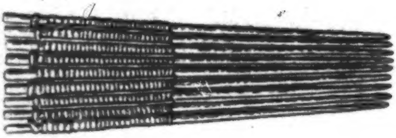

Fig. 5. Wooden Comb for Combing Hair.
(Ethnological Museum, Berlin.)

302 515 water at a spring, crossing brooks, and on similar occasions. Sometimes children and, at times, even adults cover their hair, scalp, and other parts of the body, sometimes the entire body, with a light gray layer of paint made of clay, ashes, or the marly excrement of beasts of prey that is frequently found in the steppes. This is not a festive adornment, as is often the case when adults paint themselves (see p. 67 , 127), but is intended to free the skin of small parasites and to keep it smooth.

304 Tattooing (urusago) I have observed much more seldom in Urundi than in Ruanda and Uha, [29] and then only in the form of decorative scars, never colored tattooing on the surface of the skin. In Urundi, too, it is mainly the Batussi who are tattooed, and, as in Ruanda, the patterns extend over the upper part of the arms, the two halves of the chest from the shoulder down to the area of the navel, and both halves of the back from the shoulder to the waist. As in Ruanda, the patterns consist mainly of finger length half-moons which in great numbers are placed in a row and are generally connected in groups of two by a third crescent which interlocks with the open side of the sickle; the total effect is that of a chain-like pattern (see Fig. 7). Each line consists of many parallel cuts made by a knife (Fig. 6) and caused to swell by rubbing on ashes and euphorbia juice, so that they finally form a thick scar which stands as high as one centimeter above the surface of the skin. Practitioners skilled in medicine do the tattooing. Other patterns consist of zigzag lines, ribbon-shaped parallel rows of lines running across the shoulders like broad suspenders, or button-shaped scars, like thick inoculation scars, in rows on the upper arm and in the center of the chest. Other irregular clusters of scars are not decorative tattooing but incisions for local body pains or wound scars resulting from violent injuries.

304 171 In my opinion it is improbable that this tattooing was originally practiced only by the Batussi and was imitated by the Bahutu and Batwa, as was stated by M. Weiss (No. 33, p. 93). This type of tattooing is quite unknown to the Hamitic peoples of Africa, but it is very common among the Bantu of the upper Nile and Congo regions and of the western and southern regions.

[Text continues on page 43]

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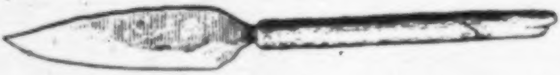

Fig. 6. Knife for Tattooing and Bloodletting.
(Ethnological Museum, Berlin. No. 6543a.)

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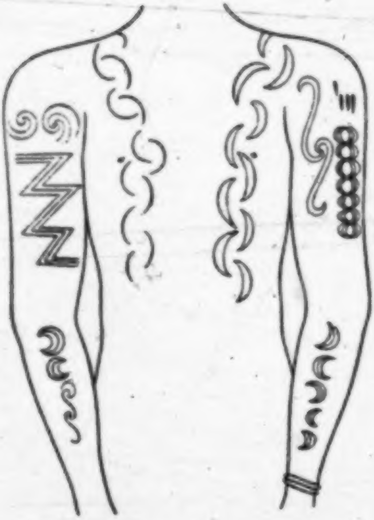

Fig. 7. Scar Tattooing of a Murundi.
(Sketch by Hans Meyer.)

304 171 around Lake Victoria, among the Bassuwi, Basindja, Baha, Wassumbwa, etc. -- while, according to H. Rehse, the Basiba [Haya] do not tattoo themselves -- so it is much more likely to assume diffusion from the Bantu and Nilotes to the Batussi and a further development of tattooing by the latter. The tattoos of the Somali, Galla, Massai [Masai], etc., look quite different. A report by H. H. Johnston gives some indication of the wider context. According to him, the crescent-shaped scar tattoo, of which he gives a photograph (No. 17, Vol. II, p. 569), is also found among the Bakonjo [Konjo], who are probably the oldest Bantu race [30] in Unjoro, Toro, and Ankole, while the large mass of the Banjoro [Nyoro] in Unjoro, who are an important mixed race consisting of Bantu, Nilotic, and Bahima elements, do not tattoo themselves.

304 In Urundi I did not observe any tattooing on women and children. It was impossible to find out anything definite about the meaning of the patterns. I would doubt that they are intended to represent horns of cattle, as has been claimed by a missionary.

"Decorative disfigurements" of the ears (ear blocks), nose (nose pegs), the lips (pelele), the teeth (notches or filing), or other parts of the body are found in Urundi neither among the Batussi nor among the Bahutu, and this is also true of Ruanda. The Batwa, however, sharpen the two upper incisors. Also, neither cutting of the genitalia among either sex, deformation of the head, nor other such things are practiced. It is not until one descends to the west, east, or south from the interlacustrine plateau that one once more finds tribes with disfigurements of the body.

[287] 439 177 Urundi is still the country of clothing made from barkcloth (impusu). Except for the peripheral areas in the southeast, south, and west where foreign trade, to which the rest of the country has been barred until recently, supplies cotton material, a piece of "Amerikani" or a cotton blanket used for clothing is still a rarity in Urundi. It was not until recently that more cotton material was introduced into the country by the few licensed traveling merchants, the missions, and the passing caravans

439 of officials and military men. The natives eagerly snatch it up.
177 Yet at the time of King Kisabo the chiefs strictly banned the wearing of cotton material for they suspected quite rightly that, together with the foreign merchants and goods, other influences would soon be introduced which might undermine their sovereignty.

291 Apart from the bark material which predominates, goat skins (ikikoba, urusato) are also worn as loincloths, with the fur side inward; they are the only clothing for children, poor people, and mostly for the Batwa also (Plate 7). In northeastern Urundi, in the Bugufi district, hide cloaks are worn more often than those made from bark (No. 8, p. 61). All over Urundi the [854] women, in addition to the loincloth of hide or bark material, around the upper part of the body wear a quadrilateral piece of hide or bark material, tied in a knot at the shoulder; it is used to carry the youngest child on the back. The men wear a larger, toga-like garment, held up by a knot at the shoulders and falling down over the knees. The knots at the shoulders are often decorated with a few large tassels of dry banana bast which look like gigantic major's epaulets (Plate 11a, 14a).

287 386 Barkcloth (impusu) -- Stuhlmann calls it "bast felt" (No. 32a, p. 35) -- has an advantage over hide and cotton materials in that it is very light, warm, and permeable, but its production requires work, and since it frays out after longer wear, it soon becomes full of holes and frayed and looks very shabby (Plates 9, 13a). Add to this the usually very dismal, dark gray color. By nature it is brown. In a very few cases it is dyed red with laterite or plant juices (for mourning), or it is decorated with [531] black designs shaped like spindles, leaves, or circles against its natural reddish-brown background. Usually it is dyed a dark gray with wood ashes, argillite, or mud from the swamps, and then it is a deplorable sight. When a large number of people dressed in this manner happen to stand together in a crowd, the many black-clothed figures, [31] combined with the smooth-shaven skulls and flashing spears which are carried by everyone, form a very impressive total picture of great somberness. We again find this simple method of dyeing in Unjoro, the most northerly area to which the Bahima extend; Vandeleur writes

287 386 about this: "The Wanjoro (in the highland of southern Unjoro) produce the same clothes of barkcloth as the Waganda [Ganda], dyeing them black by putting them for a day into the mud of a swamp." (No. 9, p. 377.)

291 There is no difference between the dress of the Batussi and the Bahutu, nor is there a special costume reserved for certain classes or professions. The Mutwa and the Muhutu, the Mutussi and the Muganwa, the great chief and the king: all dress in the same unattractive blackish-gray *impusu* of tree bark. Another feature common to them all is that they take off the long upper garment inside the huts and when working in the fields because it is a hindrance.

287 248 The material is made from the barks of several fig species (*Urostigma*), mainly the *Ficus chlamydodora Warb*. or the *Ficus Schimperi Hochst*., in the same manner as in those areas of Ruanda where garments of barkcloth are still worn. Since more barkcloth is used in Urundi than in Ruanda where cotton cloth is already much in use, more fig trees are planted near the huts in Urundi than in Ruanda; often they look like a village orchard near the houses. For this reason alone the scenery of Urundi gives the impression of being more friendly and varied than Ruanda which is grassy for the most part. Almost every cluster of huts lies in the shade of a little fresh green fig grove. The fence surrounding the homesteads also consists partly of fig trees which form natural fence posts, giving firm support to the latticework of the fence. According to van der Burgt, the *Ficus chlamydodora* was introduced into Urundi only about 60 years ago and at present occurs only where it is cultivated. However, I believe I have seen it growing wild in the peripheral mountains of the northwest.

287 Once the tree has grown until the trunk is about the thickness of an arm, its bark is removed for the first time. For this purpose two horizontal incisions are made around the trunk from half a meter to one meter apart. Both incisions are connected by a vertical incision, and a long rectangular piece of bark is then loosened from the tree without difficulty. The exposed area of the trunk is then rubbed with butter, and banana leaves are tied around it. Then, from the cut edges, the bark completely

287 reforms again under the resin exuding from the wood, and the wound heals. In two years time the tree can be cut once more. The piece of bark which has been removed is first cleaned of the rough outer layer with a knife, then it is placed over a tree trunk lying on the ground and pounded on both sides with a short, grooved, wooden club (Plate 36, 37) until it becomes soft. The sap still in it is then wrung out, as out of a wash rag; the piece is then spread out and dried in the sun. Finally it is sewn with banana bast thread and an awl to other pieces and made into a garment of the size needed for a loincloth or a cloak (No. 19, p. 279). Barkcloth is produced exclusively by [462] men and is, almost without exception, for house and family use only, but in Ruanda there are also special "fundi" who make a business of producing and selling the cloth to other people. The women are concerned only with decorating their [301] garments with interlaced borders and lace, while the men [32] also fasten tassels and shoulder tufts as decorations on their garments (Plates 11a, 44, 45). Even King Kisabo liked to indulge in this occupation during his leisure hours, and the same is reported of the mighty chief Lusabiko in east Urundi: "We found the chief busy making fringes out of fine dry grass with which to decorate his bark garment. In this simple Negro, squatting on the ground plaiting fringes, nobody would have suspected the great Lusabiko at whose feet a quarter of the beautiful land of Urundi lies trembling" (No. 14, p. 214).

291 It may be assumed that the Batussi as a pastoral people must originally have worn garments made from cattle hides, as is still the case at present among several pastoral tribes in East Africa, for example, the Massai and Wandorobbo [Wanderobo]. Since they have settled down, however, they have adopted barkcloth, among many other things, from the subject Bahutu. [292] Carefully and tastefully prepared hide garments, leopard skin aprons (see pp. 124, 126), and all kinds of ornaments (Plates 11b, 12a, 31, 32) make their appearance only when festive attire is worn at war dances and other celebrations.

Neither men nor women have any headgear. If the sun is too hot, if it rains, or if the head must be protected for some other reason, a corner of the garment is pulled over the bare

291 head. Sometimes women wear a headband of corn leaves as a symbol of young motherhood; two narrow strips of banana bark over the forehead is the sign of a married woman. Both are also worn in Ruanda.

There is no special covering for genital parts or the feet. When men wear only the toga, the penis is often visible, but this does not offend their sense of modesty. The women have their breasts mostly covered by their upper garment, but they do not mind uncovering them when, for any reason whatsoever, they take off or change a garment. Before reaching puberty, children walk around entirely naked (Plate 16) or with a narrow apron of banana bast (Plate 38).

411 The Barundi are really a "people in arms," far more so than the Banjaruanda among whom the large mass of the Bahutu walk unarmed and even the Batussi rarely carry a spear, but rather only a long staff which, however, may be quickly made into a weapon by affixing a spear point. Similarly, the Barundi can be seen walking around with wooden shafts without points whenever they want to demonstrate their peaceful intentions or wish to protect the iron point against wear or rust, but they almost always carry the spear point wrapped up, and they never go far away from the homestead to tend the cattle, work in the fields, or go on a visit without having at least one or two people in the group armed with spears and bows. A Murundi with any self-respect will never let himself be seen without a spear, for without it he would feel "undressed." Even boys carry spears. As a rule, the two customary weapons, spear and bow, are carried together, the spear in one hand, the bow and two to four arrows in the other.

The spears (itschjumu) hardly differ from those in Ruanda, and, as in Ruanda, the shape of the points varies somewhat (Plates 39, 40). Generally the blade has a strong, sharpened central rib which makes it very elastic and resistant and gives the spear, so to speak, four edges. Next to the central rib two blood grooves are hollowed out; these are usually absent on a Bantu spear. Point and socket have a sleeve for inserting the shaft. The latter is a strong [33] stick, as thick as a thumb, two

411 to three meters long, absolutely straight generally, and as well-rounded and smoothly scraped as though polished. Considering the extreme rarity of trees and large bushes in Urundi, the quality of the spear shafts is surprising. No pole-timber for the spears is imported from the neighboring areas. Many spear shafts are family heirlooms which have been bequeathed down to the present day from a time when wood was more plentiful. Others are made from the wood of the cultivated fig tree which yields barkcloth; it grows good straight branches unless it is cut often. Poorer people and children generally have spears with inferior, somewhat bent or knotty shafts. Spear [326] points and sockets are made by special blacksmiths (see p. 77) [316] either from iron mined in Urundi itself or from iron hoes (see [439] p. 83) imported from the Congo (Uvira) or from Usindja. The rest of the work necessary to make a spear is done by each Murundi himself. [Fig. 8 appears here in original text.]

The spear is mainly a weapon used for stabbing or for defense. It is thrown only short distances when one is certain of hitting the target since one cannot risk losing this valuable possession. There are no slings for hurling spears.

The Murundi is inseparable from his spear, and the fact 516 that they are always able to lean on the long spear shaft determines the characteristic posture of both the Murundi and the Munjaruanda when they are standing still. He grips the upright shaft with his arm half-raised so that his hand is about the level of his face. Depending on whether the palm of the hand is turned in or out when clutching the spear, the shaft stands vertically either between chest and elbow or along the outside of the elbow, while its end rests on the ground. In both cases the body leans with all its weight against this prop which slants somewhat away from it; at the same time the leg bearing the main weight of the body is fully extended while the leg next to the spear which takes no weight is easily crossed over the other leg at knee-level so that it touches the ground only with the outer edge of the sole (Plate 9b). [34] Less frequently the foot of the leg taking no weight is planted firmly against the leg bearing the main weight, as is done frequently among the Negroes of the Upper Nile and also among the Massai. The composition of lines

[Text continues on page 49]

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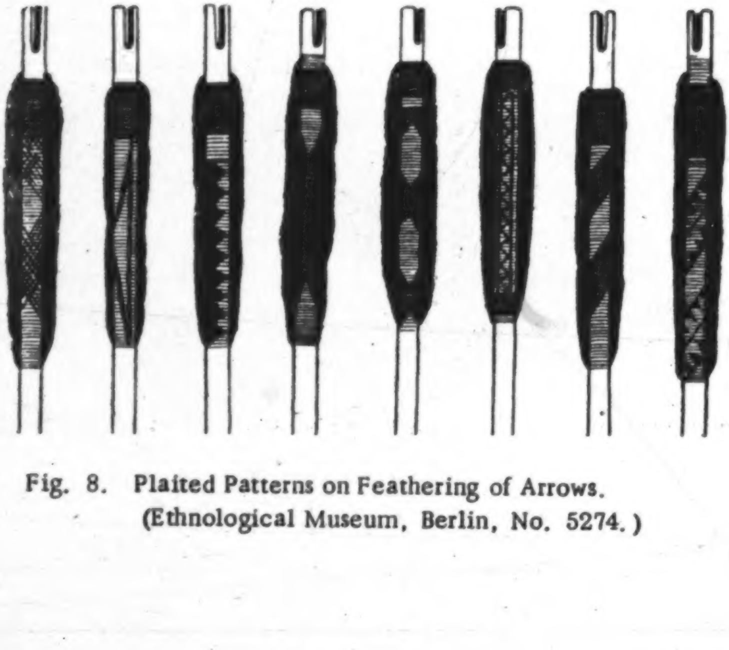

Fig. 8. Plaited Patterns on Feathering of Arrows.
(Ethnological Museum, Berlin, No. 5274.)

516 in this posture of the Barundi at rest is often surprisingly beautiful. A small group of men standing in this position really presents "a picture to be painted." [Fig. 9 appears on p. 34 of original text.]

411 The chief weapon for attack and fighting is the bow and arrow. The bows (umuheto) have the simple shape of most of the East African bows and they are rather good weapons (Plate 41). The string is usually made of beef sinew. Compound bows, such as the Batwa of Bugoje have, do not exist among the Batwa of Urundi who have been much more influenced by the Negroes. The arrowheads (umwampi) have neither barbed hooks nor lobes and, by means of a thorn, are embedded in the wooden shaft whose upper part is wrapped and the bottom ends simply feathered. The feathering often is bound in a nicely patterned reed wrapping (Fig. 8). Neither the Batussi nor the Bahutu ever use poisoned arrows, but the Batwa do (No. 19, p. 246). It has already been mentioned that the left hand holding the bow is protected against the recoiling string by thick disc-shaped arm rings (ikirinsi) (see p. 27 and Plate 30a). Also, among the Barundi archery does not entail shooting from a held position with precise aiming, but rather suddenly and violently jerking off the arrow toward the target in an impulsive fashion, like hurling stones from a sling (which is not practiced in Urundi). Nevertheless, they do hit a man at a distance of 30 to 40 meters with a fair amount of precision (Plate 30). The majority of the arrows are made by the Batwa. Sometimes the arrows are kept in nicely carved wooden quivers (umutano) which are provided with overlapping lids on both ends (Plates 41, 42), but a quiver is seldom seen on the arm or back of a Murundi, mostly only inside the huts. [Fig. 9 appears here in the original text.]

412 411 The sword-like knives (imbugita) of the Barundi, up to half a meter long, are not really weapons but instruments for daily use which only occasionally are also used as weapons (Plate 43). The knife has two parallel edges, and its tip is only slightly pointed. In its entire width it is inserted into an hourglass-shaped wooden handle, and it is worn in a wooden sheath

[Text continues on page 50]

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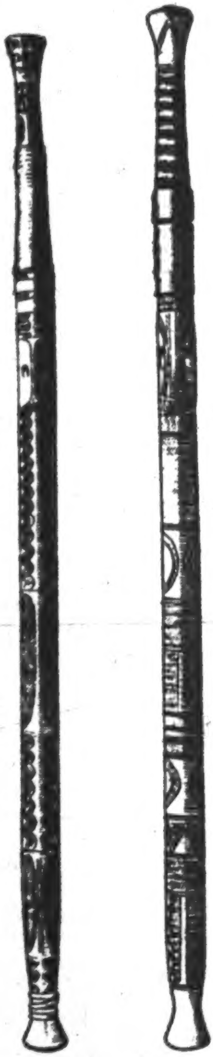

Fig. 9. Knives with Decorated Wooden Sheaths. (Ethnological Museum, Berlin, Nos. 2466, 3881.)

412 (uruwati) made of two thin boards held together by several
411 wrappings. In the same manner as the quiver, the sheath is often
[531] decorated with carved crescents or zigzag patterns (Fig. 9).
The knives are often carried by a strap running from the right
shoulder to the left hip, like a shoulder belt. The much smaller
412 knives, 10 to 15 centimeters [35] long, which are found more
often and which are of the same shape and used for smaller
carving jobs, are either worn on a string around the neck or over
the left upper arm. Only in western Lower Urundi on Lake
[177] Tanganyika can we find knives with fine copper wire nicely
wound around them; there they are due to Congo influence
and are produced by Wawira [Bira] blacksmiths (No. 19, 133).
[326] In Upper Urundi proper, the Bahutu and especially the Batwa
blacksmiths are the suppliers of knives.

Fighting clubs (uwuhiri) which were once generally used
411 all over the region have become rather rare in Urundi; as
among the Massai and the Wadschagga [Chagga] these former
weapons have been degraded into a show piece or toy of the
men. They consist of a beautifully planed piece of hardwood,
about one third of a meter in length, which at the end has been
carved into three or four edges and at the handle end is slightly
thickened.

Shields (ingabo) are much more rare. They have com-
411 pletely lost their importance as a weapon of defense and, as in
554 Ruanda, they have become merely the emblem of a chief or of
a family (perhaps the escutcheon of a clan) (Plate 44). The king
possesses several shields and each chief and his bodyguards have
one each which are painted differently. The Batwa do not have
any shields and are not allowed to carry any. The round shield,
up to one half meter in diameter, is carved of wood it has a
wooden grip and is painted with white and red segments of circles
of various types. There are also shields which have reeds plaited
around them (see pp. 80-81 and Plate 53) and others of identi-
cal shape made of cowhide which occur even more rarely. The
same shape and ornamentation of the wooden shields and quivers
recur both among the northern Bahima in Ruanda and among the
southern ones in Ufipa (cf. illustration in No. 47, p. 76).

714 Finally, battle dress is part of the fighting equipment of the Murundi. When the bodyguards of the king -- who are, as we shall see later (p. 81), the actual combatants -- march out for battle, they wear a uniform consisting of an apron of white tanned antelope hide or sheepskin (inkindi), and they paint [302] their skulls, faces, and the upper part of their bodies with all kinds of white and red lines and ornaments which give them a terrifying, savage appearance (No. 19, p. 277). This hide apron uniform is also worn at war dances. It is much the same in Ruanda where, in addition to this uniform, other decorations, for example, a headdress and foot rattles, are also worn. The Bahima in Ufipa have the same kind of war costume as here and in Ruanda (cf. illustration in Lechaptois, No. 47, p. 61).

172 411 Old stone weapons, the remnants of former cultures which have disappeared (see p. 151 [not translated]), are not in use any more in Urundi even among the Batwa who are the oldest ethnic element; the same is true in Ruanda.

[36] Chapter 4

Hunting, Fishing, Stock Farming, Agriculture, Stimulants

1. Hunting and Fishing

224 Hunting (uwuhisi) plays only a small role in the existence of the Barundi, for in an area which is so densely populated and almost completely denuded of forests and where game has been systematically exterminated in the interests of cattle farming and pastures as in the regions settled by the Boers, there are only a few animals left which one might hunt. It appears that the most frequent ones are the bushbuck (Tragelaphus) which are found mainly in the narrow bush thickets of the deep valleys of the streams and also the tufted antelope, gazelle, and the Jimela antelope. As far as other big game fit for hunting are concerned, the elephant is occasionally found in the thinly populated areas, in the deserted forests of the western peripheral

224 mountains, and in the Ruzizi lowlands. The hippopotamus, however, is still rather frequent; it finds food and shelter in all the sizable rivers and swamps. There are leopards everywhere but most of all in northeast Urundi.

It is seldom that the Murundi hunts (kuhiga) alone with his weapon. At times chiefs arrange hunting drives with from 10 to 20 persons; these, however, are more a sport than hunting and have only the single practical purpose of obtaining antelope hides for the war dress mentioned above and horns for trumpets and amulets. The Batussi and Bahutu do not eat the [224] meat of the hunted animals since they consider it impure; they give it to the Batwa or to the dogs who play an essential part [231] in each drive. The dogs can hardly be called hunting dogs as we understand the term (see p. 48), for they do nothing but rouse and pursue the game. They are the common Murundi dogs with pointed ears. Old King Kisabo had a real pack of hounds for hunting. The dogs wear a leather collar with an iron bell or rattle whose clanging and rattling scares the game, and they are kept on the leash until the hunters have taken their stand in a wide semicircle around the area where the game is suspected to be. The dogs are then released into the thicket. They soon scare the game with the rattling of their bells and finally hold it at bay by concerted attack so the hunters may approach and kill the animal with arrows or spears (No. 19, p. 100).

That the Forest Batwa, who earn their livelihood mainly by hunting, are much better hunters hardly requires explanation; in most cases they hunt in pairs. Above all elephant hunting in the forests of the northwestern peripheral mountains is their exclusive specialty. For this purpose and also for killing other big game, such as the hippopotamus, they use deep pits (itschjobo) which are dug on the paths where game usually pass. Sharp-pointed poles are placed in an upright position [37] at the bottom of the pits whose steep walls are up to eight meters high; these poles are supposed to injure or kill the animal falling into the pit. The hole is carefully covered with branches and leaves. An animal which has fallen into the pit and is still alive is killed with spears. The natives build very solid traps to catch

224 leopards, the worst enemy of their small cattle. A heavy beam
of wood weighted with stones is suspended within a narrow, low
passage leading through a strong palisade fence; it is released
when a string is touched and comes crashing down (Plate 24b).
A goat is tied next to the narrow passage within the fence, and
the leopard attempting to reach the bleating animal through the
passageway is killed by the falling beam. All leopard skins
[554] have to be surrendered to the king; he alone is entitled to dress
himself and his relatives in aprons of leopard skin.

The Batwa are very adept at setting up snares (uschiwuka)
223 with which they catch large birds and small mammals. They
also are familiar with birdlime twigs which are used to capture
small birds. They make a kind of sport of quietly sneaking up
to birds sitting in the underbrush and then suddenly touching
them with the twig so that the animal is caught in the glue.
Their way of catching guinea fowl and francolins is also rather
unusual. As soon as it is dark in the evening, the hunter carrying
a glowing torch made of grass proceeds to the place on the steppe
where he has tracked these scratchers. The birds approach the
fire out of curiosity. As soon as the hunter notices a bird, he
puts the torch down beside him, and carefully taking a circuitous
route, he slinks up to the bird whose attention is directed to the
torch and kills it with a blow of his stick. The meat of the slain
[262] animals is, of course, eaten in all these cases. The Forest Batwa
subsist mainly on what they hunt, and they are not fastidious.

Moreover, the Batwa of interior Urundi are the only ones
226 who eat fish and engage in fishing (kuroba), while the Barundi
[563] of the interior neither catch nor eat fish unless they have learned
[262] to do so from missionaries or military officers. In contrast, the
Barundi of Lake Tanganyika and the Ruzizi are good fishermen
and are passionately fond of fish. The Batwa fish mainly with a
rod (igera) and only rarely with nets (urusenga), but the Barundi
of the Tanganyika region use a whole series of different techniques for catching fish. The most common one, which is often
engaged in on a large scale and yields the largest catch, is that
of fishing by net from a boat at night. This yields almost

226 exclusively the little sardine-like fish, about five centimeters long, which are called akahuso; they are found in the lake in large numbers and are attracted by the light of the torch at night. Fishing is conducted from the dugout by two men of whom one handles the net and the other rows and maintains the burning of the long reed torch (ikimuri) which forms one of the main elements of the fishing equipment. This torch is actually a long rope, 20 to 25 centimeters thick, which consists of dry reeds tied together with banana bast and is made 10 to 20 meters long depending on the requirements. The enormous bundle of reeds is placed on the bottom of the dugout so as to protrude somewhat over the front of the boat; it is then lighted at the front end, and the boat is rowed out into the lake. There the boat is anchored by means of a stone fastened to a bast rope. The small fish then swarm toward the glare of the light and are caught in the hundreds and thousands by the net which is repeatedly thrown out and pulled in, [38] and they are emptied into the boat. The still smaller fish, umuschischja, and small crustaceans and other minute creatures are caught by means of a scoop net resembling our hand nets (No. 19, p. 426 and Plate 45).

251 These two types of small fish, akahuso and umuschischja, are spread out in a wide, thin layer in the space in front of and between the huts just as they have been taken out of the boat whether still alive or dead. They dry quickly in the sun and air. [782] A vessel filled with water is placed in the middle; it is dedicated to Imana and is supposed to keep the god kindly inclined toward fishing (No. 19, p. 427). Moreover, according to van der Burgt, [791] the Lake Barundi have a special magician whose job it is to insure successful fishing by means of all kinds of magic rites. The 262 small dried fish, which have a pretty silvery and golden iridescence 438 and do not taste at all bad, are very popular among the natives. They are also traded to the interior insofar as fish are eaten there, which is particularly the case in northwest Urundi. I once met people from Lake Tanganyika with large baskets full of such fish at the foot of the Russiga mountains, a three days' journey from the lake.

226 Every traveler gets a vivid impression of night fishing on Lake Tanganyika, much more so, in fact, than of the other methods

226 of fishing. From an elevated point near the lake, for instance, from Boma in Usumbura, after dusk from all sides of the lake he sees dozens of lights quietly float out into the lake, arrange themselves out there in long rows, and then remain for hours in the same place, where the boats are anchored. On the other side, on the distant west shore (Uvira) which belongs to the Congo State, the same spectacle takes place. Hundreds of lights will often be twinkling above the quiet water, one dying out in one place, another being lighted and flashing up somewhere else, like a festive illumination; behind rises the large dark backdrop of the western peripheral mountains and above it the Milky Way with its millions of twinkling stars. A light, warm breeze is blowing across land and lake, and only seldom is the great silence of the African night penetrated by an animal's cry.

In the daytime the lake dwellers use a conical dragnet (itanda) for fishing. It is fastened to a wooden hoop and kept below water by stones tied to it. It is pulled behind the boat on two cords, and from time to time its contents which include both large and small fish are emptied into the boat. Kandt observed an unusual method of net fishing among the Barundi of northern Tanganyika, while I personally and others have not seen anything like it. This method is as follows: of the six men in the boat, four dive into the water at the same moment holding the net in their hands. They emerge again with their prey after 30 to 50 seconds and are pulled into the boat by their companions (No. 22, p. 333).

227 286 The various types of nets have a very firm and even texture although they are made by hand without a square ruler. The strings are woven of the fibers of the raffia palm.

226 Also in fishing with a line the Lake Barundi use various methods. A long line is usually used for catching big fish. Numerous strong fishhooks (umugera) are fastened to it at short intervals on short pieces of string; the whole thing is called umuhungo. To each hook one of the above-mentioned little fish, akahuso, is fastened as bait. The long line is thrown into the water from the shore or from the boat; it is held by both ends,

226 [39] and as soon as it is noticed that the fish bite, the line is pulled in by two men, and the fish are collected (No. 19, p. 426).

Fishing with rod (*isanga*) and line (*impungo*) is practiced mainly by boys but also by the Batwa. Not just one hook, as is the case with our fishing lines, but two to four hooks, one above the other, are fastened to the lower end of the line. They are kept afloat by a piece of wood. Often a fisherman will hold two or three such fishing rods in his hand. In spite of the crocodiles, the fishermen often stand in water up to the belly, and when a fish bites, they slowly turn the fishing rod around its axis so as to let the line wind up. If they gave a sudden pull, the hooks, which have no barb as ours do, would permit the fish to slide off.

A peculiar apparatus for catching medium-sized fish consists of a quadrilateral box-like frame (*uvusago*) made of palm leaves. Several holes are pierced in its sides, behind which grasshoppers or worms are fastened as bait. Thirty to forty such trap boxes are weighed down and lowered into the water around the boat. A wooden float fastened to each of these by a string indicates immediately when a fish trying to get at one of the pieces of bait is caught in one of the holes. This method is supposed to yield a rich catch.

Finally, weir-baskets (*umugono*) must be mentioned. They have the form of a long cone, which occurs elsewhere quite frequently, and inside there is a funnel-shaped smaller basket, on the order of a mousetrap. Although the fish can penetrate the narrow opening of the latter into the main part of the cone where the bait is kept, they cannot get out of it. The weir-baskets are fastened to the bottom of the lake near the shore by means of poles, and they are pulled out and emptied every few days.

No harpoons are used for catching fish, nor is poison used for stunning the fish. The Negroes here, like those in other parts of Africa, have not progressed to training swimming birds to catch fish. For instance, cormorants are frequent around Lake Tanganyika, and the natives have long been aware of their skill in catching fish.

In connection with the use of wild fauna for nourishment,
222 252 we also must mention the catching or collecting of locusts and
[262] termites. It is very popular among the Bahutu and Batwa.
Locusts are caught in great numbers when large swarms move across the land. They are killed by squeezing in the thorax, and they are then fried in fat. Termites are caught by removing the top of smaller termite hills to ground level. The termites appearing from the opened holes and chambers are then collected in a pot and thrown alive into boiling fat. Especially in the steppes of eastern Urundi I often noticed along the path the uncovered, tube-shaped termite tunnels, as broad as a hand and going far into the ground, which had been emptied by the Bahutu. Usually the hill is then closed once more by the surviving termites, covered with new earth hills, and is soon populated again.

272 The use of wild bees (urujuki) for obtaining honey forms
the transitional stage from the exploitation of the animal world
by hunting to the keeping of domesticated animals. In this
case, too, the original technique was to discover beehives in
the wilderness and extract their honeycombs. Occasionally the
231 Batwa still follow this custom, whereas the Bahutu, like the
other East African Negroes, have long since succeeded in making
the wild bees serve human needs by suspending beehives in
blossoming trees of the steppe and forest. [40] Apiculture is most
widespread in the outer provinces of Ujogoma and Usige which
still contain most of the forest and tree steppe. For the Barundi
[263] honey is of the greatest importance since they do not have any
other sweetening. They use it, above all, for making honey
[273] beer (see p. 61) and add it to various dishes.

The beehives (umusingo) are shaped like short, thick tubes about one and a half meters in length and half a meter in diameter, and they are made either from a hollowed-out tree trunk or, in areas where there are only a few trees, from papyrus and sorghum stalks tied or twisted together (Plate 25b). The two openings of the tube are closed by discs made of wood or of plaited straw with a hole for the bees to fly out. There is also a little flight board in front of the hole. As soon as a new swarm

231 flies out with its queen, it is sprinkled with dust and water so it will not fly afield or will drop to the ground. The swarm of bees with its queen is then carefully swept into the tubes which are brought to it, the opening is closed, and the hive is suspended from a tree or a pole. The small entrance hole to the hive is then opened. All hives are suspended in a horizontal position. Of course, the whole procedure is usually not over before a few bee stings have been received, but the "beekeepers" know quite well how to protect themselves by covering the whole body with barkcloth.

Gathering honey from the beehives later is a much simpler procedure. At night, when the bees are not flying, the back of the hive is opened, and a glowing wisp of straw which is smoking strongly is introduced, causing the bees to crowd together in the opposite corner. The honeycombs are cut out and then preserved in a pot (No. 19, p. 3). There are many different uses for the wax in the Barundi household. Since a demand for it has 439 developed in the markets, bee keeping has noticeably increased in the border regions accessible to trade. Undoubtedly it can and will find an even greater expansion once the country has been opened up to trade and there are more possibilities for marketing it. Even today wax and cattle hides are the most important trade products of Urundi.

2. Stock Farming

We often read that the economic life of the Barundi centers 231 around stock farming. This is not correct. The Barundi are, 563 first of all, agriculturists, like all Bantu Negroes, but stock farming is the chief occupation of the Hamitic ruling class, the Batussi, and it is only through their influence and in their service that many Bahutu are occupied in keeping and caring for livestock. By "livestock" we mean large domesticated animals, cattle (inka), for the Batussi hardly occupy themselves with smaller animals, goats and sheep. These latter animals had long been an element in the economy of the Bantu Negroes, that is, the Bahutu in this case, before the Batussi entered the country, and even today they are kept mainly by the Bahutu for their own consumption.

231 consumption. Their number, however, is relatively small.

In Ruanda the cattle all belong to the breed of the long-horned Bahima cattle which the Batussi brought with them on their treks southwest from their original homes in the northeast. The geographical distribution of these cattle is exactly identical with that of the Bahima (see p. 158 [not translated]). These are cattle of medium size with straight backs and with only a small hump of fat or none at all. To the thick-set head are attached two huge horns, up to more than one and a half meters long and extending in the form of a lyre in most cases. Their base is often enormously thick [41] (Plate 23). The largest horns may be found among sterile cows. Prof. Joh. Neumann-Hamburg has described those which I brought with me: "Der Schädel des Batussirindes" [The Head of the Batussi Cattle] in the Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten, 1913 [Reports from the German Protectorates, 1913], Supplementary Volume 6, p. 113 ff. Apart from this, a characteristic trait of Bahima cattle is a large dewlap.

Bahima cattle most resemble the so-called Sanga cattle of Abyssinia, particularly that strain found in the area from southern Abyssinia to the lands of the Galla. The long-horned cattle of the old Egyptians belong to the same type, so do those of the Fulbe [Fulani] in the Sudan, in Bornu, in the Cameroons etc., among the tribes of the middle Zambesi to the Cape Colony, among the Hottentots in Damara and Ovamboland, in southern Angola, in other words, as far as the Hamites have traveled on their migrations (No. 17, Vol. II, p. 620 ff.; Nachtigal, Sahara, and the Sudan, Vol. I, p. 682; Thorbecke, Im Hochland von Mittel-Kamerun [In the Mountains of the Central Cameroon], Part 1, 1914, p. 70, showing a good photograph of a long-horned bull). As to the question whether the Batussi brought these cattle with them or whether they found them in the area they now inhabit, Stuhlmann also chooses the first alternative (No. 28a, p. 695). Long-horned cattle are found over the entire area of Ruanda and Urundi. Toward the west the limit is the big Central African trench, toward the south and southeast the scarp of the interlacustrine plateau toward Ujiji and Uha. Here in the southeast I found

231 the last herds of the long-horned cattle in the Urundi border villages west of the Kisuma River; east of this, in lower northern Uha, the bush forest and tsetse fly begin.

In Urundi and Ruanda there are none of the smaller, short-horned zebu or humped cattle that are found in the rest of East Africa. Bahima cattle are so well adjusted to the climate and the mode of life of the highlands of the interlacustrine region that they thrive only in this region. As soon as the animals are taken to the lower areas, that is, to Unjamwesi, Lake Victoria, or to the coastal regions, they languish and soon die, even if they are not stung by the tsetse fly. In this respect they are quite like the Batussi themselves with whom they live in a kind of symbiosi

As a former nation of shepherds, the Batussi place a high value on their cattle which is quite foreign to the Bantu. It far exceeds the estimate of their capital value. Cattle are not regarded as producers of meat, as an "article of consumption," but as original capital from which only the dividends (milk, [237] butter, blood tapped from the living animal, hair) may be used, while the capital itself (individual heads of cattle) may only be exchanged for other valuable capital assets, for example, women. More than that, cattle have a high sentimental value for the [182] Mutussi. His entire thoughts and aspirations revolve around the cattle; they are for him the mainstay of his social order, yes, even the object of his devotion which in many cases even transcends into the religious sphere. Accordingly, they are objects of a cult which is full of symbols and mystical relationships. [776] The highest deity, Imana, is first of all protector of the cattle. In East Africa we find a similar attitude among the Hamito-Nilotic nation of herdsmen, the Massai. In whatever concerns cattle, a woman has no say at all. The entire breeding and [462] care of the cattle, even milking, is the job of the man. It is true that in this sphere too the Bahutu have to do all the heavy work, cleaning the animals, tending the cattle in the pasture, milking the cows, etc., but the Mutussi does the more delicate work: he chooses the animals for breeding; he is the veterinarian; he decides what animals are to be killed or sacrificed; and he does this job with all the affection of the sportsman for his animal.

231 422 The cattle of the entire country belong de jure to the king (or to the highest chief), as in Ruanda. He leaves a large part of the cattle with the Batussi sub chiefs, who enjoy the usufruct, and [42] the latter, in turn, leave small herds and single animals with lower Batussi and individual Bahutu for care, further breeding, and use. A set small number of the young becomes the property of the caretaker which he holds as an irrevocable fee.

231 554 To a certain degree the almost mystical esteem in which cattle are held is transferred to the temporary owners, caretakers, and breeders of the cattle. A person who is vested with cattle is thus raised to a higher status. A Muhutu who is vested with cattle for the usufruct and for breeding is ennobled, so to speak, by this act; he is no longer subject to compulsory labor, nor does he have to work the fields for his master. Thus, the possession of cattle has a social significance which is no less important than the economic one. Not only for religious reasons but also for social and political ones, old and sick cattle are allowed to live as long as they possibly can, both in Urundi and Ruanda, for they can still be used to vest someone with them who through this rise in status is more closely tied to the Batussi rulers and the king. It is also for this reason that the immense number of cattle owned by the king are a strong support of Batussi rule.

233 All cattle are fed in pasture (Plate 23); only older calves and sick animals are fed in the stable. During the night the cattle are kept within the inner fence of the homestead. As soon as they have been cleaned after sunrise in the morning and the cows have been milked, the herd is driven to pasture (kwahura inka). The location of grazing land is determined by the season and the growth of fodder. The herd remains there until evening. Every sixth or eighth head of cattle carries a bell (imsogera) made from a bent piece of sheet iron (Plate 45) or from wood; in many areas, however, there are no cattle bells at all. Twice daily the herd is driven to the watering place in the nearest river valley. 233 312 If the valley has no flowing water but only underground water to be obtained by digging holes, as is often the case during the dry months, long

233 troughs of clay are constructed near the water holds into which
[312] the drinking water is scooped. As in our Alps, the hill slopes
bear the imprint of the hooves of the cattle in the form of innumerable little steps and paths since the grazing cattle will
usually move along the slope in a horizontal direction which
is more comfortable for grazing.

In the months after the rains the cattle can gorge themselves on green grass and they then look quite attractive, but
during the dry months when all the grass is parched to a gray-brown color, the cattle become so lean that one can count all
their ribs. In Urundi during the months of September and
October I have seen, almost without exception, cattle which
were very emaciated. Only the herds of the chiefs preserve
their healthy appearance in the dry period since the best grazing
land is reserved for them. The general impression is that both
[137] in Urundi and Ruanda, which are both almost exclusively
grasslands, good nourishing pastures are not very extensive.
It is possible to wander for days over chains of hills and plains
in the sterile, thinly populated quartzite areas of the east where
the growth of grass is so poor that it is not worthwhile for the
natives to burn it. Since the hill ridges and the valleys in the
[311] populated areas of central and western Urundi are covered with
homesteads and fields, insofar as the valleys are not filled
with papyrus swamps, in general only the hill slopes for pastures.
However, since every year the dry expanse of grass on them is
burned off in order to obtain a new growth of green grass as
soon as possible and to destroy the vermin noxious to cattle,
the quality, the food value, of the grass [43] cannot improve.
Also, if the herds multiply greatly, as in the northwestern areas
of Urundi and in most of Ruanda, the pastures are soon over-
[246] stocked. The Batussi and Bahutu do not grow any fodder with
a high food value which could compensate for the lack of good
grazing land. As a result most cattle suffer from malnutrition,
and if then a contagious disease is brought into the country or
if it is caused in the area itself through infectious vermin, etc.,
the animals with low resistance succumb to it in great numbers. The available grazing land is then sufficient for the

233 surviving animals for a long time to come, until the herds once more have become too large, the animals once more cannot find enough to eat, and natural selection by epidemics starts once again. This situation will not improve until Europeans introduce rational methods of stock breeding.

The animals are conscientiously cared for every day. Every night fresh litter is provided in the pens for the herds returning from the pasture. The animals are scrubbed clean with straw whisks and searched for ticks and other parasites which may have attached themselves to the animals. The udders are washed each time after milking. While the cattle are standing in the kraals or drinking from the troughs, they are bothered by stinging flies; human beings, too, are attacked by these bloodthirsty tormentors. For this reason fires are kept burning in the kraals and near the watering places, the smoke driving away the flies. Such pillars of smoke can be seen rising from the farms everywhere in the morning and evening. From time to time the animals are given saliferous ashes to lick. Even in the pastures the herdsman is constantly occupied with his herd. He is able to give it all kinds of orders by shrill whistling. As a result of good treatment, the animals are in most cases very good-natured; they do not kick, and they keep still when something is being done to them. In the latter case one of the herdsmen usually uses his stick or reed to stroke the animal gently between the upper part of the hind legs. Despite their long horns, the animals also cause much less damage among themselves than one might expect. Even if they are crowded together when driven to or from the pasture, a constant muffled rattling and clanking of the colliding horns can be heard -- the characteristic sound of a moving Urundi herd -- but it is extremely seldom that the animals injure each
232 other. In case an animal is seriously injured or becomes sick and the owner himself is unable to help which, however, he is usually able to do -- a Mutussi or Muhutu who is skilled in medicine is called to act as a veterinarian. For his help he
232 is paid very well (Plate 25a). The Batussi, like all Africans,
231 are quite powerless against epidemics, especially rinderpest,

232 and as a result the devastations caused among the cattle by a
731 single epidemic are terrible. Thus, the rinderpest that
ravaged the entire interlacustrine region, as well as Uganda
and Unjoro, in 1888 killed two thirds of all the cattle, and
since the Bahima live mainly on milk, blood, and meat, it
is reported that almost two thirds of the Bahima also died of
hunger (No. 17, Vol. II, p. 626).

Although the Barundi take good *care* of their cattle, they
232 cannot really be called good *cattle breeders*, as is sometimes
done. The same is true for the Banjaruanda. The livestock
suffers from an insufficient supply of new blood, that is, from
the centuries-old inbreeding. It is true that the Barundi, as
well as the Banjaruanda, always select the breeding steers from
a different herd in order to prevent degeneration, but there is
still only variation within the same long-horned strain of cattle
[44] and the blood is not freshened up by other breeds. Since
also most of the bulls are not castrated, although castration is
known and a special term exists for it (*kuschahura*), there are
often weak bulls in the herds which cause the breed to deteriorate.
The improvement of the breeds is not helped either by
the fact that, as a result of the growing demand for cattle hides
by traders, more bulls are raised which in former times used
to be slaughtered or sacrificed when they were still young. Degeneration
is especially apparent from the fact that there are a
great number of sterile cows, both in Urundi and Ruanda. They
can be immediately recognized in a herd since they have the
longest horns. It almost appears as if the excess of strength
which has not been spent on reproduction is channeled into
making the horns grow to a gigantic size. Both in Urundi and
Ruanda only the herds of the kings and of the high *batwale* are
in really good condition as a result of constant selection and exchange.
There are white, brown, and dappled herds. However,
these are deluxe herds and not representative of the general run.
232 The designation, "holy cattle," which is often heard applied
778 to the king's herds, is as incorrect as it is when applied to the
herds of the Musinga [king] of Ruanda. It is also erroneous in
that not even the animals destined for sacrifice are taken from
these herds. On the other hand there are holy cattle kept

232 especially for sacrifice and for their function at the election
778 of the king, and there are others dedicated to one of the principal gods, Imana, Riangombe, Rikiranga (see p. 68 , also p. 184 of original text [not translated]).

When a calf is born, it is rubbed with butter. As soon
233 as the horns appear, the owner tears off the covering epidermis with his teeth and rubs the little horns with butter so as to make them grow well. The calf is then given a name which is de-
[552] termined by its parentage, color, or some other characteristic, or in memory of some deceased member of the family, a chief, king, etc. The calves are put in the pen for six months before being sent to pasture, and after that the young cattle graze in a separate pasture. In the morning and in the evening, before the milking of the cows, the calves are permitted to suck. If a cow refuses to suckle her calf, both her udder and the calf are rubbed with salt water, whereupon the cow will lick the calf and will also allow it to lick and to suck her udder. In order to wean a calf, the cow's teats are smeared with cow dung (No. 19, p. 423).

234 Before a cow is milked (kukamma), the calf is permitted to suck for a few moments. Then the Murundi squats down near the udder, holding a vessel under it with his left hand and milking with his right hand. In this process a considerable amount of milk (amata) is spilled on the ground since the vessel has a narrow opening. An unruly cow or one that kicks has her legs tied together while being milked. If the calf dies or is slaughtered, the cow gives no more milk. In this case, to make her continue to produce milk, the skin of her calf stuffed with straw or simply a piece of the hide suspended on a stick is held in front of her nose (No. 22, p. 287; No. 48, p. 141; No. 27, p. 95). This is also true in Ruanda, Ankole, and the other Bahima regions. This artless yet useful deception usually tricks the cows, and they lick the hide and continue to give milk. The amount of milk produced by the long-horned cattle is quite small all over the interlacustrine region. It is seldom more than two to three liters daily, in
234 the morning and in the evening. The milk pails (itschjansi)
415 are always made of wood; in most cases they have a cylindrical shape and a rounded lid. Van der Burgt claims that [45] this

234 shape is to be regarded as the imitation of the phallus of a steer
[415] "as though this emblem is inseparably connected with their
cult"; I myself offer no opinion on this subject. The milk
pail is rinsed daily with fresh cow urine (amaganga), and from
time to time it is "cleaned" with human urine (No. 19, p. 423).
It is possible that this custom has ritual meaning aside from
the practical experience that urine acts as a mild disinfectant.
However this may be, the result of this custom, popular also
among many other tribes, is that the taste and smell of the
milk is nauseating to Europeans. If a European wants palatable
milk, he must have it milked into his own pails.

The Barundi, as well as the Banjaruanda and other Bahima
[272] peoples, drink the milk either fresh or curdled, but never
boiled. A large portion is put away for making butter. For
this purpose the milk is first of all left standing in a large
wooden vessel for three to four days until it curdles. Then it
is poured into a large bottle gourd (ikisabo) until the flakes
of butter separate off. These are fished out with a spoon,
pressed together, and then preserved in an earthen vessel
covered with fresh banana leaves. The remaining buttermilk
[272] is a popular beverage. Making butter, typically enough, is
[462] not a man's job, like everything else connected with cattle;
it is women's work since butter is not regarded as an article of
302 food produced by a cow but solely as a cosmetic. No Murundi
[262] eats butter; nobody uses it for baking, frying, or cooking; it
is only used for rubbing the body (see above, p. 28). The same
[171] is also true for the Banjaruanda, Banjampororó, Banjankole
[Nkole], and the other Hamites.

One of the most popular delicacies for the Barundi, espe-
272 cially for the Batussi, is cattle blood. They obtain it in the
[171] same manner as the Banjaruanda and the Massai. Each steer is
bled approximately once every three months. A special arrow
[411] made for the purpose is used. It has a short, broad, round blade
which cannot penetrate far into the body (Fig. 10). Several
men hold the [Fig. 10 appears here in the original text] steer
by his horns, and then the arrow is shot from a bow into the

[Text continues on page 67]

411

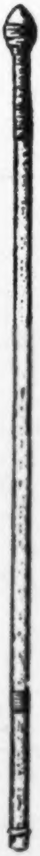

Fig. 10. Arrow for Bleeding of Cattle.
(Ethnological Museum, Berlin, No. 6546.)

272 jugular vein from a short distance, whereupon the blood spurts
out swiftly. The arrow falls off immediately, and the blood
is then caught in an earthenware pot. After two to four liters
have been collected, the wound closes by itself. Part of the
262 warm blood is immediately drunk; the remaining larger part is
boiled on the fire until it becomes solid, as in our black pudding.
Then salt, beans, peas, and other ingredients are added, and
the tasty meal (ikiremve) is eaten greedily (No. 19, p. 424).

Obviously, beef (injama) is eaten much more rarely.
Since cattle are not regarded as food but as capital, there is
beef to eat only when an animal has fallen or if it is killed for
a sacrifice (cf. p. 136). Only the chiefs can indulge in the
luxury of killing an animal for food from time to time. In
this case almost always old steers or sterile cows are chosen.
Cows that give milk or [46] breeding animals are never killed.
The same is true for all Bahima people from Ankole (No. 26,
p. 146) to Ufipa. The Bahutu, especially those on Lake
Tanganyika, sometimes eat mutton and goat meat, although
rarely; the Batwa also eat antelopes, gazelles, francolins,
guinea fowl, ducks, etc., but neither they nor the Batussi or
Bahutu will eat chicken (No. 19, p. 396). Beef is either eaten
252 raw, still warm if possible, or it is pierced with a wooden spit
and roasted over the fire. It is cooked only very rarely.
439 Europeans, who are accustomed to eating meat, are able to buy
431 only sterile cows or defective steers when traveling through
Urundi and Ruanda. Sometimes they receive them as a gift
from the host. Even then the rules of custom require that the
host or the person who sold the animal receives in return a hind
leg, the skin, and horns: the leg for food, the horns as a cult
object for the hut, and the skin as a bed cover or for making
clothes -- especially for women and Batwa -- or to be sold to the
trader.

According to all experience it is impossible to export live
439 cattle in great numbers because they soon perish after leaving
the highlands as a result of the change of fodder, the tsetse fly,
and other infections which unfortunately are prevalent in East
Africa. At present quite a large number of dried cattle hides

439 from Urundi and Ruanda are sold in Usumbura and Bukoba for
export since there is a heavy demand for them. The hides are
almost without exception from animals that died, either useless
steers or sterile cows, which for this reason are now killed in
much greater numbers than before. Since for reasons mentioned
above other cattle are seldom slaughtered, the export of hides
will remain quite restricted in the future.

One of the "superstitious" customs connected with cattle
272 farming whose practical basis and meaning cannot be dis-
825 covered any more is that the Murundi may never heat or even
boil milk. If he did so, the cow from whom the milk had been
taken would get a sore udder or she would even stop giving milk
altogether. It is also believed that the cow would develop
sores on her udder if the Murundi ate peas or peanuts on the day
he drank milk. This taboo evidently also has dietetic reasons.
On the other hand, it is difficult to understand why someone
752 with a wound on his leg or on some other part of his body is not
permitted to look on while a cow is calving; it is assumed that
his wounds would then grow even larger (No. 19, p. 423).

It is certain that the Barundi have taken over the belief
231
776 imp[illegible]d by the Batussi that especially close connections exist
between cattle and the chief deity, Imana. All cattle are
dedicated to Imana and are believed to be creatures "possessed"
by Imana. Instead of Imana, Riangombe is also often men-
tioned. On the other hand it is reported that even the "devil,"
or Rikiranga, the most important of the evil spirits (see p. 121),
is the owner of a cattle herd in the vicinity of Mujaga which
includes two steers dedicated to him (Afrikabote [African
Messenger], 1904, p. 123). Yet the precise extent of these
religious beliefs regarding cattle is quite unknown. Finally,
576 we might mention that during the involved greetings of the
231 Barundi the phrase, "ischo-scho-amascho," that is, "cattle,
[782] cattle herd," is repeated. Van der Burgt considers this typical
herdsman's greeting a kind of supplication to the main god,
Imana, to grant the person greeted all kinds of good fortune
which is epitomized precisely by cattle (No. 19, p. 530).
In van der Burgt's opinion all salutations of the Barundi are of

576 a religious character (see p. 95 , types of greeting). This is 231 possible and quite probable, considering the solemnity with which the long greeting [47] ceremony is practiced by those participating in it. It must be remembered, however, that very solemn and extended salutations are also customary among other East African tribes and that they have absolutely no religious content. They have their source simply in the general urge of the Negroes toward involved forms of speech and dignified behavior. In a shorter form, the "cattle greeting" [171] is also used by the Banjaruanda who have also taken it over from their Batussi. Even the Batwa, who never own cattle, have acquired it.

Second only to cattle, *sheep* (*intama*; Plate 24a) are con- 231 sidered the most valuable domestic animal. Nevertheless, sheep are less numerous in Urundi than goats since they are more difficult to raise and they are not as fecund as goats. The Barundi have two breeds of sheep: a medium-sized woolly type without a fatty tail and a bigger fatty-tailed sheep. Both of them are dappled or white, rarely black. Both are raised [281] only for their hides which are used either for domestic consumption (cloak, blankets, etc.) or as trade objects in exchange for iron hoes, salt, and other necessities. A small number of sheep are used for sacrifices and oracles. Neither the Batussi [262] nor the Bahutu eat the meat (the Bahutu only eat it on rare occasions), but the Batwa are quite fond of it.

Goats (*impene*) are much more numerous in Urundi. They are of a breed with long legs, rather short bodies, and short, dappled or yellowish-gray hair (Plate 24a). This breed is strong, resistant, easily satisfied, and very fecund; a litter of three or four kids is quite frequent. Goats and sheep often are sent to the pasture together, but wherever grass is sparse, only goats find sufficient fodder while the sheep and cattle have [262] to be driven to better pastures. The Batussi are as reluctant to eat goat meat as mutton, and the Bahutu seldom eat it, but [231] goat skins are an important item in the bartering trade of the Barundi, and for this reason the number of goats has been

231 terribly decimated since the admission of traders in 1906. Goats
are not used for sacrifices.

235 Chickens (inkoko) are the only domestic fowl of the
Barundi, but they are kept only in small numbers. It is possible
to wander for days through the farms of central Urundi without
seeing a single chicken. There are far more in Usige, in the
Tanganyika area, where they are used exclusively for trade.
[439] They are sold to the Moslem Negroes of the coastal area there
who like chicken and who have been very numerous since the
time of the Arabs and are now numerous due to European
colonization. Not only the Batussi and Bahutu but also the
[262] Batwa detest chicken meat; it is an age-old food taboo which
is probably of totemic origin. The breed is the one generally
found in East Africa, long-legged and mostly black. The
chickens are not fed at all. They have to find their own food,
and for this reason they are always thin. In most of interior
[782] Urundi and in Ruanda they are only used for sacrificial occasions
and as oracles. They are sacrificed to the manes of deceased
family members or to the spirits, Imana, Rikiranga, and
Riangombe, in the same manner as sheep and cattle (see p. 135).
Certain cocks are also dedicated to Imana (No. 19, p. 453).
[787] To consult the oracle, the chickens are killed, and the future
or the uncertainties of the present are augured from the color
and position of their viscera. This is done by the sorcerers or
medicine men who will, of course, read the oracle as it suits
them best. The Barundi regard the eating of chicken by
262 Europeans and the Moslem Negroes of the coast as abominable.
They also abhor the eating of eggs, probably for totemic reasons
and not because they regard [48] eggs as excrement of the
chicken, as has often been claimed, sometimes even by themselves.
They know quite well that the egg contains the embryo
of the chicken and therefore that a person eating eggs is really
eating chicken, thereby violating the food taboo.

235 Van der Burgt mentions another "superstitious" custom:
753 when a hen is found eating its own eggs or killing its chicks,
the egg shells are thrown on a crossroads to prevent the hen

235 from doing this again. Barundi passing this way take pains not
753 to crush the shells since the improvident person doing so would
get sick (No. 19, p. 453).

231 Finally, among the domesticated animals we shall mention the dog (imbwa). His only purpose in life is to eat all the refuse. Adults and children play with him and also maltreat him. It has already been mentioned above (p.36) that on rare occasions he is also used for hunting drives. Both mentally and physically they are most miserable curs and it is difficult to understand why, after being domesticated for so long, they have not made better progress. Perhaps their domestication does not date back as far as is generally assumed, but in that case what might be their indigenous wild ancestor? Van der Burgt says that they "tiennent du loup" (resemble the wolf) (No. 19, p. 104). This can only be an error of observation for these dogs have much more in common with a jackal than with a wolf. Perhaps the jackal is the ancestor. Yet the original stock has separated into two different breeds, unless we assume that one breed was indigenous while the other was introduced later, probably by the Bahima. One breed is yellow-brown, and its ears are pointed upright. The other one is black, white, or spotted and has drooping ears. Mixed types, however, are quite frequent. Both types have only a little hair on their tails. When they run, the stiff, jolting motions of their legs are conspicuous. I have found the same two types or varieties distributed also in Kisiba and Ruanda. In Ruanda dogs are bred in greater numbers than in Urundi, probably because they are used for hunting more than here. Since dogs are not fed, they have to take care of themselves, and of necessity they have become omnivorous. They are always hungry and very skinny. Whenever they find something to eat, they fill themselves until they are ready to burst. What Europeans find most revolting about them and the
364 Barundi consider a useful trait is that they eat human excrement. In a country where there are no pigs and only a few scavenger birds, which take care of the sanitation problem in the rest of East Africa, the dogs are of hygienic importance. Apart from this they have absolutely no social virtues. They are snappish, cowardly, thievish, very poor watchdogs, and miserable

231 comrades. However, their fecundity is considerable; a bitch will seldom have a litter of less than eight to ten. It is generally claimed that the dogs of the natives in East Africa do not bark but only howl. This is not quite correct. As a matter of fact they do not give a short, clear bark as our house dogs do, but, on the other hand, they do not merely howl. The sounds they utter are usually a combination of both barking and howling. After an extended howling sound, two or three short barks follow, blending into one another, then another howl follows, and so forth.

There are no domestic animals in Urundi and Ruanda other than those described above.

3. Agriculture

In spite of the importance of cattle farming in Urundi 241 and Ruanda, agriculture (kurima) is nevertheless the basis of economic life. Almost without exception, farming is practiced only by the [49] original settlers, the Bahutu, and by part of those Batwa who have undergone a metamorphosis. The Batussi, however, seldom help till the soil; they prefer to have the Bahutu do their work. Only the lowest and poorest class of the Batussi work in the fields. Agricultural work in this area is not merely reserved to women. Men, women, and [462] children participate equally. Only among the Batwa, the oldest element of the population, is agricultural work exclusively done by women (No. 19, p. 19). Yet the Batwa claim that they learned from the Bahutu how to cultivate the soil.

4/2 The only agricultural implement is the iron hoe (ischuka, 241 igembe) which has the shape of a clover leaf or of a "heart with a stem" well-known all over East Africa (see Plate 46). As a result of its wide distribution over the entire interlacustrine [434] region, the field hoe has become the chief object of internal trade, a yardstick of value, a coin. Since the Barundi and [439] Batwa blacksmiths cannot satisfy the demand, many hoes are imported from Uha, Usambiro, Uvinza, etc. The blade of the hoe is about 30 centimeters long. An iron spine bent at an

412 acute angle joins it to a wooden handle whose club-shaped end 241 has a hole for this purpose, made with red-hot iron. In most cases the handle is so short (about three quarters of a meter) that the person using it in the fields always has to stoop quite low. Usually only the right hand is used for gripping the hoe while loosened stones, weeds, and the produce of the field are collected with the left hand. Hoes with handles as long as one and a quarter meter are also used, however. In northern Ruanda and on Lake Kivu such long-handled hoes predominate. Both hands are used to grip them, and they do not require one to work in such a stooped position as do those with shorter handles.

For digging holes to sow beans, peas, corn, and other produce, a piece of broken-off reed or wood is used at times. This piece, however, does not thereby become a permanent implement, that is, a "digging stick"; holes in the soft soil are mostly dug with the fingers. On the other hand, the short hatchet (ischenjo), shaped like a segment of a circle, is a permanent piece of equipment used for clearing the ground of underbrush. The same is true of the bent hewing knife (umuhoro; [171] see Plate 46), characteristic of the interlacustrine region, which appears in the hand of the old Egyptian harvest god. It is also used here as a harvest knife, besides having many other uses.

241 Thus, the farming techniques of the Barundi are merely hoe-culture, and the produce of their fields only hoe-products [as contrasted to plow-culture and its products]. Bananas and beans are the main agricultural produce. Bananas thrive everywhere, but they grow well only up to an altitude of approximately 2,000 meters. Beans grow in somewhat higher altitudes. Finally, peas are entirely absent in the lowland, but they are quite frequent in the higher regions of central Urundi. They are the sole agricultural product found in the areas of greatest elevation. Corn is widely grown in the Tanganyika region and in the valley of the Ruzizi, but it is found in the interior areas to a much smaller extent than is generally assumed. In the dry eastern part of Urundi where bananas become scarce, corn, interspersed with beans, is often cultivated on artifically irrigated valley floors. Peanuts are also abundant in the Ruzizi and Tanganyika areas, but in the highlands of the interior they are only sparsely

241 distributed. Wherever water is plentiful, one will find sweet potatoes; therefore there are few in the highland of the interior and only in the valley bottoms. Yams are grown very rarely. Manioc, however, which requires a certain amount of dryness and warmth is widely distributed in the lowlands and in the dry quartzite areas of the east. In the mountains of the west it is found only in the lower, warmer regions. Sorghum is found all over Urundi, although nowhere in large amounts; its main growing areas are the drier quartzite regions of eastern Urundi. Eleusine [a kind of millet] is found only in small quantities, and mostly at high altitudes. A little rice is grown [50] but only on the shores of Lake Tanganyika. It is cultivated by non-Barundi who imported it from the east; the Barundi themselves are not familiar with the cultivation of rice. Tobacco is cultivated everywhere in Urundi but merely as a form of primitive horticulture near the huts. The same is true for the castor-oil plant. Finally, the oil palm grows only on the shores of Lake Tanganyika and on the slopes of the peripheral mountains on the western side toward the lake.

Let us now take a closer look at the most important cultivated plants and at the methods of growing them.

245 Several varieties of banana (ikitoke) are cultivated both in Urundi and in Ruanda. Fifteen types can be distinguished in Urundi. Their flavor and the uses to which they are put differ widely. It is an open question whether there are wild varieties (musa ensete) in the mountains. In any case, out in the wild bush country I have often seen bananas which may have reverted to the wild state. According to the Barundi, their fruit is unpalatable, and they are called ikiribu. Van der Burgt has found them in northern Urundi near the mission at Mariensee. Wherever in East Africa bananas are cultivated as the main means of subsistence, a characteristic fact about their cultivation makes those tribes who plant them unusually sedentary. This fact is that the banana plant reproduces by means of runners or multiplies from shoots which cannot be taken far away, and once a banana grove has been planted around a farmstead it survives a long time. On the other hand, the fact that banana

245 cultivation requires hardly any work at all engenders laziness among those tribes who live almost entirely on bananas, as, for instance, the peoples living in the areas around Lake Victoria. Cultural progress through work is forced upon the population in this area only by their chiefs (Kahigi, Mugaráwua, and others) who are members of Hamitic Bahinda families. However, in Urundi and Ruanda the climate and topography of the area force the people to grow not only bananas but a whole series of other agricultural produce which the soil yields only after hard work with the hoe. There the limited banana cultivation cannot induce the same indolence among the people. However, when comparing the neglected banana plantations with the fields of other produce, it becomes evident that the former will thrive without much care. After the bunches of bananas have been gathered, the trunk withers yet it is left to stand there for quite a long time. The large dried leaves droop down, and weeds are removed only if they become too dense. Often no effort is made to plant young shoots, and the new striplings simply are left to grow from the rootstock. Subsequently, all of them are cut except one or two which are left for further growth. Sometimes all of them are left. For this reason the banana trees in a plantation do not grow singly, as is always the case on the coast, for instance, where reproduction and the increase in number of the plants are always effected by planting young striplings. Here, bananas grow from trunks which, in bundles of four, six, or ten, have shot from the same rootstock. Frequently, cultivated plants that are not too tall and can stand the shade are grown between the bananas such as sweet potatoes, pumpkins, beans, corn, and sorghum.

Bananas thrive best on soil which is quite moist while the plant is still growing but dry while the fruit appears and ripens. In areas where rain is plentiful, as in mountainous western Urundi, banana groves are not restricted to certain places, while in eastern Urundi with its drier climate they either nestle in the valleys so as to get sufficient water or they are [312] found in more exposed places where water has to be piped artificially through long ducts.

245 artificially through long ducts (see p. 55). Mountainous
areas at altitudes of more than 2,400 meters are too cold
for bananas [51]; their growth already becomes noticeably
sparse beginning at an altitude of 2,000 meters. Only a
few bananas grow in the sterile quartzite areas of eastern
Urundi.

Most of the fruit of the banana is cut down when it is
[252] still green and unripe. The bananas are then peeled and
boiled in water to make a kind of porridge, or they are
[262] dried in the sun and ground into flour. Ripe fruit is eaten
only in small amounts and as a delicacy since it is hard to
[273] digest uncooked. For brewing beer, bananas are artificially
ripened by fire in holes dug in the ground (see p. 60).

After the bundles of fruit have been cut off, the
trunk withers. If necessary, it is cut down and split into
small pieces which are spread at the foot of other trunks as
[231] vegetable fertilizer. Chopped banana trunks are also used
as fodder for young cattle. In dry areas the watery juice
is squeezed from the trunks and drunk. The fibers of half-dried
trunks are used for making string, rope, and plaited work,
and the large dry leaves are used for roofing the huts, for
wrapping various objects, etc.

Beans (ikiharage), next to bananas the most important
244 means of subsistence of the Barundi, are grown in large
fields all over the country. They abound in the higher or
drier areas where bananas thrive with difficulty or not at all.
Beans still grow quite well at altitudes between 2,000 and
2,500 meters. About 90 varieties are known: bushy, creeping,
and climbing types; those which thrive in cold or in
warm climates; and those bearing seeds of different size and
color. They all belong to the species Phaseolus vulgaris which
has probably been brought to the interlacustrine region from
the west, together with the sweet potato and corn (No. 28a,
p. 222). The creepers grow as tall as a man, and each plant
is propped up by a sorghum stalk or a stick to which they can
cling in the same manner as our [European] climbing beans.
They are planted by sticking two or three beans into small
holes made with a hoe.

The same technique is used for peas (uwusassja) of which

244 there are about half a dozen varieties of the type Pisum sativum. One with a bluish fruit is supposed to have been imported by the Batussi from their original home in the lands of the Galla (No. 19, p. 283). Stuhlmann, however, assumes that the pea, which in East Africa is grown only in the highlands of the lake region, was introduced by the Portuguese from the south and spread north across the highlands (No. 28a, p. 225). In the upper mountainous areas of Urundi peas are the only cultivated plant. As on the high volcanoes of Ruanda, on the [262] peripheral mountains of Lake Kivu, and in the Ruzizi graben, many thousand natives in the high peripheral mountains of northwest and western Urundi, up to an altitude of almost 3,000 meters, live almost exclusively on peas. Wherever the [311] magnificent, old, virgin forest in these regions up to the watersheds is destroyed by ax and fire, it makes room almost without exception for pea fields. In the rich humus of the forest soil, the peas thrive exceptionally well, of course. As the destruction of the forests proceeds, so does the expansion of pea fields. What a miserable substitute for the wonderful and economically much more valuable forest which in the existing climate could never be restored to its former size, even if this were attempted.

Beans and peas are left to ripen fully on the "stalk." Only when the plants have withered so completely that the fruit is about to fall off by itself are they torn out and piled up in the kraals. Then they are spread out on the roofs of the huts and finally threshed with switches. The straw [52] that is not used for litter is distributed on the fields in numerous single piles, like our haycocks, and then burned so that the ashes will fertilize the soil.

Peanuts (itschjoba) and corn (ikigori) are sown in the same 243 manner as beans, by sticking them into holes. The peanuts are 244 first taken out their shells, and the corn kernels are left in water for a day to make them swell. There seem to be three types of peanuts which are differentiated as itschjoba, itschjema, and itschjansa. None of them is used for making oil. They are only [252] eaten as a dessert and delicacy, either raw or roasted in ashes (No. 19, p. 41).

There are at least half a dozen different varieties of corn 243 (ikigori). In regions where the soil can easily be irrigated, corn is often sown three times a year, and relatively large stocks of it are always kept in the granaries. The ears are cut from the stalk. As long as they are still juicy and sweet, they are either [252] eaten raw or roasted in ashes, but for the most part the ripened kernels are ground into flour and made into a kind of polenta [372] [Italian dish]. The straw is used for fuel.

Yams (igname), arrowroot (amateke), and sweet potatoes 244 (ikisumbu) are planted by sticking the tubers into the ground, and a little topsoil is heaped over them. Sweet potatoes, of which there are about half a dozen varieties (No. 19, p. 424), and arrowroot need much water for the first period of growth. For this reason they are mostly grown in the valley bottoms where they can be artificially irrigated (Plate 22b). When ripe, they are dug up with a hoe in the same manner as our potatoes; the tubers or rootstocks are removed and cooked or roasted in ashes.

Manioc (umumbati), however, is cultivated by shoots 245 which are broken off from the juicy manioc shrubs and then planted in rows with a little topsoil heaped over them. After that the plant grows without any further care. It is the most undemanding of all the cultivated plants of East Africa, and for this reason it is found all over Urundi, especially in the eastern quartzite regions. At least six varieties are distinguished, 252 none of which is so poisonous as to require cooking or fermentation in order to become palatable, as do some other varieties in East Africa. It is eaten raw, cooked, dried, ground up as flour, in the form of dumplings, etc. The leaves are boiled as a vegetable.

Sorghum (isakka) plays a much less important role in 243 Urundi than in Ruanda where it ranks first among cultivated plants, even before bananas. Uha, too, produces more sorghum than anything else and supplies the Barundi with it in times of scarcity. Nevertheless, sorghum occurs in Urundi in some twenty named varieties of the white and red types (No. 19, p. 544). When sorghum is sown, the soil is simply turned over with a hoe; in most cases no furrows are drawn. The grains

243 are then scattered from the swinging hand onto the level ground, after which some soil is sprinkled on the seed by hand. Eleusine (uwuro) is sown in the same manner. The ripe ears of these two types of millet are each individually cut from the stalks with a knife. This is also the method used for corn and rice. Then the ears are spread on the firm ground in front of the huts and threshed with switches. Some of the sorghum
[252] is ground into flour, but most of it is used for brewing beer.
[273] Eleusine is mainly ground into flour from which the daily ugali mush (umudsima) is made.

The Barundi grow tobacco (itabi) in small quantities near
249 almost every homestead, as has been mentioned above. The delicate plant is cared for so poorly, however, that it yields a mediocre product. Uvira tobacco, which is traded in considerable amounts in the Tanganyika area, is of much better quality. [53] The Barundi put the tobacco seeds into small holes dug into the soil with a hoe. The young seedlings are not transplanted, but the Barundi clear and irrigate the surrounding soil from time to time. As soon as the plant begins to blossom (red, not white), the leaves are picked off and strung up on bast strings to dry in the sun. Then, for fermentation and storage, they are wrapped in dry banana leaves. In spite of its terrible appearance,
276 the tobacco does not have a bad aroma, but it is so strong that even the Barundi seldom smoke it. In most cases it is smoked only by old men and women. The others are all inveterate snuff-takers (see p.59), whereas in Ruanda tobacco is only rarely taken as snuff but is smoked in considerable amounts.

[824] Tobacco is regarded by the Barundi in the same way as all narcotics are regarded by primitive peoples: as possessing
[758] mysterious powers. From this originates the custom of stuffing a pinch of snuff up the nose of a person who has fainted. Also, the young bridegroom blows tobacco smoke at his wife, and so forth (No. 19, p. 557).

244 Several kinds of pumpkins (imboga) are likewise grown merely as garden produce or interspersed among bananas or sorghum, in particular a variety which is round and as big as a head, and another smaller variety that looks almost like a

244 cucumber. They are eaten as a vegetable. Gourds with
[415] variously-shaped fruits are cultivated mainly for use as vessels.
The oil palm (ingasi), which occurs in Urundi only in
314 the interlacustrine area, is not really a plant cultivated by the
[177] Barundi but a wild tree which has been introduced from West
Africa. The Barundi use its fruit. The oil palm forest of Mtara
is approximately 12 kilometers north of Usumbura. It covers
about 800 hectares with 400,000 to 500,000 oil palms (Elaeis
guineensis). Closer to Usumbura there is a forest of 200,000
? to 220,000 palms, and farther south of Usumbura, stretching
to the vicinity of Ujiji, there are other stocks of trees with
300,000 to 400,000 palms. The systematic cultivation of oil
[177] palms was first introduced to the Tanganyika area by the
Europeans, but at the present time the forests are exploited
neither by Europeans nor by the natives because they are the
chief breeding site of the fly that transmits sleeping sickness.
For this reason the forests are avoided as much as possible. The
[248] only tree incorporated into their hoe-culture, which is inimical
to the cultivation of trees, is the fig from whose bark cloth can
be made (see above, pp.24 .31). This tree is really planted and
cared for. The oil palm, however, is only seldom planted by
the natives. After dropping from the trees, the nuts thrive easily
in the moist soil where oil palm forests usually grow. The majority of the young trees are either pulled up or cut down, and
only a few are left standing to replace old dead trees. After
cutting down the ripe fruits of the oil palm, they are first scalded
in boiling water and then pounded in a mortar until the whole
outer layer of flesh containing the oil is detached. The pounded
pap is squeezed out by hand into a wooden tub filled with water
so that the oil will float on the surface. From there it is scooped
into an earthen pot. It is marketed in smaller pots. Most of it
[439] is sold in Ujiji and in the Congo district (Uvira). The Barundi use
[252] the little oil that is left as an ingredient in some of their dishes or
[278] for frying fish, partly also as a skin lotion and as a medicine for
the wounds caused by sand fleas (No. 19, p. 291 and 411).
000 Originally the Barundi were not familiar with the use of palm oil

Originally the Barundi were not familiar with the use of palm oil
388 for making soap: [54] only the people of the Tanganyika area
177 have learned from the Arabs and Wasuaheli how to mix oil with
potash to make soap (*kifefe*) which is traded in fist-sized balls.

Apart from the cultivated plants mentioned above, the
222 Barundi and their women and children collect a number of *wild
262 plants* or parts of these plants to be used as food or condiments.
There are, for instance, the stinging nettle, whose leaves are
boiled as "spinach," and sorrel, also cooked as a vegetable.
The fruit of the eggplant (*Solanum esculentum*) -- reverted to
the wild state? -- is eaten raw or roasted. They also collect edible
mushrooms which are eaten either raw or cooked, red pepper
[265] (*intore*) whose pods are used for seasoning, and various berries
eaten as delicacies by women and children, especially blackberries which are abundant everywhere.

The location and arrangement of the *fields* (*umurima*)
241 in Urundi does not differ much from Ruanda. One thing that soon strikes the observer is that in Urundi, with the exception of the western mountain areas, terraced fields are much more rare than in Ruanda where they cover entire mountain slopes and constitute the characteristics appearance of the cultivated areas. In Urundi the fields extend predominantly over level ground, either on the broad ridges and plateaus or at the bottom of the valleys. They are always close to the huts and, of course, to water. No furrows are drawn on most fields; their surface is merely loosened with a hoe. In the case of freshly cleared land, the pulled grass and shrubs are piled up in the field, left to dry, and burned. Then the ashes, as fertilizer, are worked into the ground with the hose. A similar method is used at the edge of papyrus swamps. After the water level has receded, the papyrus thicket is cut down over the whole extent of the extremely fertile alluvial land whose surface has dried. The hacked-off papyrus fronds are burned as soon as they have dried out (Plate 22a). Then the roots are dug up, narrow drainage ditches are dug, and the plant ash is spread over the field as fertilizer. Finally sweet potatoes, arrowroot, and beans are planted in the little holes which have been dug. They come up quickly. If land is cleared on a hill slope, the fields are laid out in long narrow strips which follow the contour horizontally. These are made as level as

possible by removing soil from farther up the hill and heaping it farther down. Thus, if there are several strips of land situated one above the other on a hillside, they are arranged in terraces. Each field is separated from the one below by a narrow grass-covered ridge in the same manner as in Ruanda. Stones piled up to form such a ridge are seen only rarely. A few broad furrows are drawn through these terrace fields so as to prevent the soil from being washed away by heavy rains. However, on the valley floors and on the artificially irrigated plains the fields are arranged in the form of elevated plots between which water may flow freely.

Since the hoes used in the fields do not penetrate very far into the soil, the clearing of the land, sowing, and planting do not extend very far below the surface. Hence, the uppermost topsoil is continuously used and is soon exhausted and "impoverished." In order to retard this process or to prevent it entirely, the Barundi use *fertilizer*, as has already been mentioned. This is not found very frequently in East African agriculture. As fertilizer, they use either animal manure (*ikiragiriro*) from cattle, goats, sheep, and chickens, or the ashes of burnt plants (*amase*) from the hearth and from the roots of grass or papyrus which they have dug up, or green fertilizer (chopped pieces of the banana trunk, sorghum stalks), or kitchen refuse, sweepings, etc. [55] These fertilizers are distributed evenly over the fields and sometimes raked into the soil somewhat, usually shortly before the rainy season.

As soon as the first rains come, men, women, and children begin to cultivate the fields. The various plants are sown throughout the rainy season, that is, from September or October until March or April: first, beans, peas, and corn; sorghum and eleusine next; then the tuberous plants. Fresh beans and young corn are available in November, but the main harvest (bananas, sorghum, eleusine) takes place in June. The dry period extends from June until September or October. It is a period of rest for most fields. However, in river and stream valleys, in the lowlands where water is available, and even on many hill slopes, the fields are tilled and planted and crops are harvested during the

241 entire year. Even during the driest months bananas, beans, corn, sweet potatoes, and pumpkins grow there.

241 312 This is made possible only by artificial irrigation (uwutotsi) which the Barundi have brought to a stage of development and apply in a manner similar to the Banjaruanda. In the valley plains and on the river bottoms, water is channeled from the main stream through a whole network of larger and smaller canals and ditches and distributed over the area. Here the innumerable plots of arable ground rise above the ditches like high beds (Plate 22b). In order to irrigate the fields on the hillsides as well, the upper course of the stream is dammed up with earth and latticework so as to form a pool. From there the water is led along the mountain slopes through a ditch, which is often several kilometers long, until the desired destination is reached. Small channels lead off from this main artery at various intervals and irrigate numerous fields on the hillsides. Once a field has received enough water, the ditch leading to it is dammed up. The last fields receive only a little water because the supply has been exhausted along the route. It is amazing with what understanding of the velocity and pressure of the water the ditches have been leveled, dammed up, and conducted along the valley slopes with all their indentations and salients. If the slope is interrupted by a gully that also interrupts the course of the irrigation ditch, a long tree trunk, often brought from a long distance, is placed horizontally across the gully. Its upper side is hollowed out to form a groove through which the water may flow. There are tree viaducts of this type 30 to 40 meters long (No. 19, p. 50). The construction of such an irrigation network is the joint enterprise of the men. Each is entitled to his share of water. The equitable distribution of the water is regulated and supervised by the mutwale of the district.

I have seen a similar carefully and painstakingly constructed irrigation network -- which would do credit to any European horticulturist -- only among the Wadschagga of Kilimanjaro. It must be said, however, that the artificial irrigation in some areas of Usambara, Uluguru, Ussagara, and several other mountain regions is not much inferior to that mentioned above.

241 In spite of all this, the Barundi do not grow [illegible]e crops
433 than they need for their subsistence during the year. The soil
[134] is, for the most part, fertile red earth and, in the valley plains,
dark gray alluvial soil or humus, except in the sterile and stony
quartzite regions of the east. With or without artificial irrigation,
this soil could produce much more if a larger area were
cultivated. This is prevented mainly by the absence of trade.
[56] Since there are neither markets nor organized trade in
the large area of central Urundi -- only the Tanganyika region
possesses both -- the Murundi could do nothing with what he
produced beyond his own needs. Moreover, the Murundi does
not anticipate bad harvests. Like nearly all Negroes, he never
731 worries about the future. Since not even the hardy manioc
(which, even in the driest years when everything else withers,
still furnishes a good yield) is grown in large quantities, extensive
areas are plagued by famine in poor harvest years. This
is especially true of the arid quartzite regions of eastern Urundi.
[797] Then the missionary stations (Mugera, Mujaga, and others) and
the government try to help by importing grain (sorghum) from
Uha and Usámbiro, but they still cannot prevent many people,
particularly children, from starving to death.

Another important reason that prevents further expansion
241 of agriculture can be found in the way land is owned, in the
423 overruling power of the Batussi who claim, above all, grazing
land for their herds of cattle. We shall discuss this problem
later (p. 57).

Various efforts are made to protect the growing crops
241 against pests. Weeds are cleared away; caterpillars, beetles,
136 and snails are picked off; birds are frightened away by scarecrows
which, for example, are made of gallows-shaped sorghum
stalks tied one upon the other with dry, rattling fruit suspended
from them. Large animals, however, like the wild boars and
baboons in the mountains of western Urundi, are either kept out
by fences or chased away by watchmen who walk around in the
daytime and at night take up their positions in small huts perched
on high posts. From there the guards from time to time set up a
loud shouting or rattle with sticks. In the valleys of western

241 Urundi and Ruanda where water is abundant, crowned cranes,
136 spore geese, and Nile geese are the worst enemies of the crops
since they eat the young budding sprouts of beans, sweet potatoes,
pumpkins, millet, etc. The Bahutu try to frighten them away
by rattles and shouting. Ibises, herons, and golden plovers also
abound in the swamp valleys, but they do not attack the green
crops and prefer to fish for frogs, worms, and snails in the
drainage ditches. In the dry quartzite regions of eastern Urundi
there are only a few such swamp valleys, and consequently there
are only a few of the noxious birds mentioned above.

251 Harvested produce is partly kept in baskets and sacks in the huts, but most of it is put in the basket-shaped *storage huts* mentioned above (p.22) which are located near the living huts. Particularly beans, sorghum, and corn are stored in these basket-like huts. However, during the dry period ears of corn are suspended in large bundles from the fig trees surrounding the homestead. The tuberous fruit, namely, sweet potatoes, yams, manioc, and arrowroot, are usually not piled up but are left in the ground until they are needed. This is another reason why the quantity grown is never large, since it would spoil otherwise.

423 I mentioned before that further expansion of agriculture in
Urundi is blocked by the peculiar *conditions of ownership*. The
situation here is quite similar to that in Ruanda. None of the
agricultural Bahutu owns the land that he cultivates. All the
land is the property of the king who vests his high *batwale* with it,
who in turn vest the lower Batussi *batwale* (see p. 134). The
mutwale distributes the individual lots of land to the Bahutu he
rules, who hold it in fee. [57] The Bahutu must ask his per-
423 mission whenever they intend to work a plot of land, build a hut,
65/ or clear new ground for fields. They pay him a tribute of natural
products which is done only once. In addition, they pay him an
[427] annual "tithe" as a ground rent. If the annual rent is not paid
at harvest time, the *mutwale* may punish this tardiness by evicting
the person from the land. The *mutwale* may also demand extraor-
dinary tributes from the Bahutu without compensating them, for
example, presents for the head chief, provisions for the caravan
of a European passing through, etc. The gifts or payments made

423 in return by the Europeans are simply pocketed by the mutwale:
651 Misera contribuens plebs [contributing to the misery of the
people?] !

311 The main interest of the Mutussi feudal lord, however, is
578 not the agricultural activity of the Bahutu but his cattle herds
and their welfare. He is, therefore, chiefly interested in
having abundant grazing land for his cattle. For this reason he
is in most cases not at all enthusiastic if the Muhutu attempts
to narrow down the already limited grazing area by clearing
new fields for cultivation. This conflict of interests, which is
of course decided by the Batussi in favor of grazing land and
against agriculture, will continue even when this big country
is some day opened to trade and commerce, and the Muhutu
can sell his agricultural produce abroad. The conflict of
000 interests will become even more pronounced than it is at present,
since the Bahutu will then attempt to increase their agricultural
production and to sell more. These difficulties will
only be alleviated by a thorough change in the conditions relating
to pasture land and a partial shift to growing concentrated
fodder and stall-feeding. These are problems which
will be hard to solve in practice, but now that the central
railroad has reached Lake Tanganyika and there are plans to
increase the productivity of the contiguous large and populous
areas, our leading statesmen in charge of colonial affairs will
have to spend much thought on these questions. In the end it
will be necessary to attack the fundamental evil pressing heavily
upon those areas and retarding their development: the rule
of the Batussi. For this purpose, however, more force is necessary
than is available to us at present. If the colonial troops
are not increased, the central railroad will nevertheless make
it possible to concentrate military power more quickly than
heretofore. Finally, the Bahutu will be with us against the
Batussi when they realize that we are stronger than the latter.

241 At the end of this review of Barundi agriculture I shall
782 mention briefly a few religious customs connected with it
(No. 19, pp. 20-21). The local head chief of each of the
large feudal districts or provinces gives the order for the

241 782 [776] beginning of the cultivation of the fields as soon as the rainy season has started. This is done after he and his sorcerers (abafumu) have practiced a number of ceremonies and have offered sacrifices to the principal god, Imana, the fertility god. The order of the head chief is passed on by the subchief to the lower batwale who again pass it on to the Bahutu. The Bahutu also offer small gifts to the god. When they begin to till the field, a sorcerer (umufumu) dances in front of them on the first day, shouting and gesticulating, to banish the evil spirits and to bless the seed.

241 782 796 According to Father Gassldinger the consecration of the fields takes a somewhat different form in central Urundi (Mujaga). At the beginning of the rainy season, after the high grass has been cut down and dug into the topsoil with hoes, work is started with a ceremony that is supposed to bring the blessing of Kiranga. [58] The men, painted yellow and red, line up with their hoes on the field which is to be tilled. Kiranga with two escorts (ivisjego) sits on the side of the field. A girl who is painted and richly adorned stands in front of the men in the center of the field. She now begins to jump, dance, and sing while cutting the high grass with her sickle. Still singing, she asks Kiranga for a successful sowing and curses the sorcerers and witches who might want to harm the field. The men promise her ample gifts of beer for the summer. The men walk slowly behind her turning the soil over with their hoes which they strike rhythmically into the ground. Depending on the type of seed, Kiranga is invoked by a particular name: Njamurimi when sorghum is sown, Njabaschi for peanuts, Rumambo for corn, etc. (No. 45, p. 316).

782 241 [449] The heir presumptive to the throne of the king is believed to hold in his clenched fist at birth a grain of seed of each of the crops of Urundi. If the corn or sorghum in a field has been dashed to the ground by hail or a cloudburst, the Muhutu who cultivated the plot runs around the field with a cattle bell, and by its noisy clanging he reminds the god to whom he has made sacrifices of his duty to protect the field from evil spirits. If this clanging of the bell is done properly, the crops lying on the ground will raise themselves to an upright position.

4. Stimulants

276 The Murundi knows only two narcotics: tobacco and alcohol (beer). The method of cultivating tobacco (itabi) has already been discussed on page 53 . It has also been mentioned that the Barundi, except for old men and women (including the Batwa), do not smoke much tobacco while all of them are inveterate snuff-takers. Their neighbors, the Banjaruanda, as well as the Baganda and Banjoro, are habitual smokers but do not take snuff. This is true of both men and women. This striking difference between them and the Barundi is probably based on the quality of Urundi tobacco which, as a result of insufficient care, is very strong. Wherever tobacco pipes are seen among the Barundi [Fig. 11 appears here in the original text] -- which is mainly in the north and especially in the northwest -- their shapes are the same as those of the Banjaruanda, and the Batwa make them out of black clay in the same manner as in Ruanda (Plate 49 and Fig. 11). The pipe stem is a piece of reed. On Lake Tanganyika [59] water pipes are also used. [177] They are made of a calabash with a clay pipe bowl inserted at the side and have been taken over from the Wawira of the Congo.

Taking snuff (kusomera), on the other hand, is so popular among all Barundi, men, women and half-grown children as to constitute almost a national pastime or "national vice" (Plate 28). If only it were not such an unappetizing habit! Theirs is not the relaxed, almost graceful snuffing, so full of feeling, that one may observe among the Wadschagga of the Kilimanjaro region. Among the latter tribe a little finely ground tobacco powder is poured onto the back of the hand from a small box embroidered with pearls and then gently inhaled with the nose as though they were smelling a flower. The Murundi takes his snuff in the following manner. First of all, he uses three little instruments: a small goat's horn which is the tobacco container (ihembe) and is carried over the shoulder on a string; a wooden bowl for moistening the tobacco (Fig. 12), and a little nose clamp (umunengo) made from a small cleft piece of wood which

[Text continues on page 89]

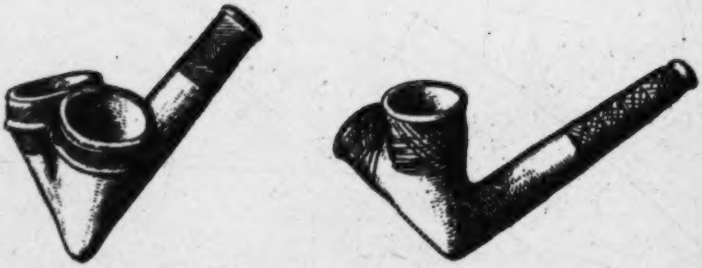

Fig. 11. Double Tobacco Pipes of Black Clay, probably for Votive Offerings.
(Ethnological Museum, Berlin, No. 6595, 6596.)

276 has approximately the shape of a [Fig. 12 appears here in the original text] clothespin and is suspended from the neck on a string (Fig. 13). In order to take the snuff, the [Fig. 13 appears here in the original text] Murundi first pours some tobacco from the horn into the wooden bowl. He adds a little water and stirs the mixture until the water has turned into a brownish-green tobacco juice. Then he pours this sauce into the hollow of his hand and draws it in through his nostrils with an ecstatic grunt. All this is usually done in a sitting or squatting position (see Plate 28b). Since the juice would, of course, run out of his nose immediately, the already described nose clamp is pushed over the nostrils or the nose is blocked by gripping it between the index finger and the thumb. The pinch of snuff is considered good if it is sharp enough to bring tears to the snuff-taker's eyes. He will leave the stinging brew in his nose for three to five minutes or longer. Finally, when he has had enough of this pleasure, he bends forward, takes the clamp or his fingers from his nose and lets the slimy sauce drip to the ground. Any remainder is blown out of the nose with the fingers, and the fingers are wiped off on the bare legs. The entire procedure, which may be observed several dozen times each day, is so disgusting that it easily might cause one to be disenchanted with a sojourn among the Barundi if one did not remind himself that this is a subject for ethnological study which, as such, is beyond good and evil.

276
576 If one of the snuff-takers is suddenly overcome with the desire to sneeze, he quickly blows out all the juice, aiding the passage of it with his fingers; otherwise dire consequences would ensue. After he has sneezed, the bystanders wish him "kira" (bless you), whereupon he answers, "tukirane" (may things go well with us). Offering a pinch of snuff and accepting one which has been offered [60] are evidence of good breeding. Only the Batwa are never offered a pinch by the other Barundi, nor do they offer snuff to them (No. 19, p. 465).

273 Male and female Barundi of all tribal, status, and age groups are even more passionately addicted to alcohol in the form of beer (insoga). "If in general the Barundi are a sober

[Text continues on page 90]

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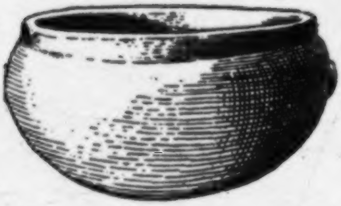

Fig. 12. Small Wooden Bowl for Moistening Snuff.
(Ethnological Museum, Berlin, No. 5277.)

[413]

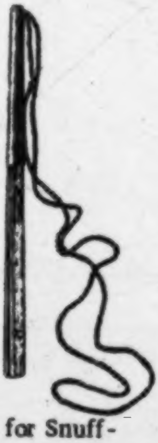

Fig. 13. Wooden Nose Clamp for Snuff-takers.
(Ethnological Museum, Berlin, No. 5278.)

273 people, it is not out of virtue but simply because they do not
have enough to eat and drink to satisfy their appetites. They
could eat an ox at one sitting, and if they were given as much
beer as they wanted, they would keep drinking from morning
till night" (No. 19, p. 317). Drunkenness is not regarded as
a shortcoming or a vice but as evidence of the prosperity or
generosity of the host. After the millet and banana harvest,
from July to September, is the time for brewing beer (kwenga
insoga, kutoba), the period of gluttony and general drunkeness
all over Urundi, and this continues until the provisions are exhausted.
Often the last drop disppears down the gullet after not
more than four weeks, and the thirsty souls have to remain
273 abstinent until the next harvest period. During the period of
574 carousal, singing and shouting can be heard issuing from most
homesteads deep into the night, for there are no quiet and
solitary drinkers. Drinking beer is always a social affair. One
person after another invites friends and relatives to communal
drinking bouts, and in this manner they make the rounds among
all the families of friends, guzzling until nothing is left. In
[431] addition to this, pots filled with beer are given as presents or
any suitable occasion, and then they are shared by receiver and
donor together. Of course, beer is part of any kind of festive
occasion which usually also includes dancing (see pp. 65 , 125).
273 Since the banana beer, which is the most popular, is quite
579 potent and since, in addition, the Barundi are by nature easily
152 excited, the more advanced stages of such communal drinking
bouts usually take a rather wild form. Quite regularly violent
arguments ensue, and often fights result in which even lances
are used, sometimes ending in manslaughter. In the latter
case, the consequences for the families concerned are quite
disastrous (see pp. 97 , 105).

273 Significantly enough, beer-brewing among the Barundi
[462] is a task with which the women are charged. They are experts
in this respect, but they also are hard drinkers. There are four
different types of beer in Urundi. The most potent, popular,
and widespread type is banana beer (insoga j'ivitoke). To

273 prepare it, green, unripe bananas are first ripened artificially in a kind of incubator. This is simply a pit which has been dug in firm ground. The bottom of it is covered with green banana leaves, the bundles of bananas are piled on top, and these are again covered with green banana leaves. Over all, dry banana leaves are heaped up and set on fire. As soon as they have started to burn, the whole thing is covered with twigs and earth. After four to five days the bananas are fully ripe. They are then taken out of the pit, peeled, and placed in a wooden trough. There they are mashed with the aid of clean bunches of grass which are held in the hand. Then water is poured on, and all the solid parts are fished out. The remaining juice is scooped into a large earthen pot with a pumpkin shell. A little sorghum flour is added to aid fermentation. After the liquid has been left to ferment for four to five days, the beer is poured into small jugs and is ready for drinking.

[61] Brewing millet beer (insoga j'impeke) is less complicated. However, this type of beer is less tasty and also less popular. Naturally it is predominantly produced in areas where more sorghum than bananas are grown, as, for instance, in eastern Urundi and in Uha. The brewing process is as follows. Red or white sorghum is left in cold water to swell and to germinate. After a few days the millet is poured into a basket, and after being left there to germinate a little more, it is dried in the sun and ground into flour. This flour is then poured into boiling water, and the mash is constantly stirred with a small piece of wood while cold water is gradually added. When the big pot is finally entirely filled with cold water, a little sour banana beer is added, and the mash is allowed to settle on the bottom of the vessel. The finished beer above it is then poured off into small pots. The beer always retains a somewhat floury color and teems with floating millet grains and seeds.

Without doubt, the European palate prefers the third kind of beer which might be called banana cider (umutobe). It is simply water mixed with the juice squeezed from ripe bananas which has fermented slightly. This beverage sparkles like champagne, has a bitter-sweet taste, is very refreshing, and is

273 easily digested. Barundi men scorn it because of its harmlessness, and it is left for the sick, the women, and the children, among whom it is very popular (No. 19, p. 74).

The fourth type of beer is honey beer (umutobe w'insuki). It resembles lemonade but is nevertheless somewhat alcoholic, so even men like to drink it. It consists of one fifth honey and four fifths water. This is boiled for a short time, and then it is poured into a different vessel and left standing near the fire for a few days without being allowed to boil. Finally it is placed under the open sun for an entire day so as to cause slight fermentation. This is also a tasty and wholesome beverage.

Honey beer and banana cider cannot be preserved for a long time; the latter will keep only for four to five days. For this reason both must be consumed quickly. The first two types mentioned, banana and sorghum beer, do not improve by aging either. They turn sour, the sooner the warmer the place is where they are kept. In mountain areas with a cold climate they will keep for five to six weeks, but in the much more extensive plateau lands they turn sour much sooner. For this reason alone the high time of general drinking is squeezed into the period of a few weeks which are enjoyed all the more strenuously. [Fig. 14 appears here in the original text.]

[62] The Barundi seldom drink beer directly from the pots or from open pumpkin bowls, as is the case among most other East African Negroes. Usually the beer is poured from the
[264] pots into calabashes and then sucked out of these by means of straws or reeds (umukenke) in the same manner as we drink iced coffee. The Banjaruanda and Basiba use the same method. Also
[484] on trips and marches they carry calabashes of beer with them,
[415] together with the necessary tubes which are kept in plaited or carved cases (Fig. 14).

The real beer brewers in Urundi are the Bahutu women, as has already been mentioned, but as far as drinking is concerned, the Bahutu and the Batussi are of equal rank. Most of them are tremendous tipplers who consume 12 to 15 liters of beer a day. The Batwa, too, are hard drinkers if they have beer.

[Text continues on page 93]

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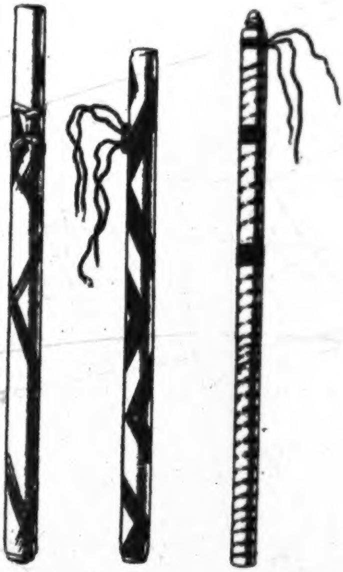

Fig. 14. Containers for Suction Tubes for Drinking Beer.
(Ethnological Museum, Berlin, No. 4875, 6391, 6652.)

273 They usually obtain it[1] from the Bahutu by trading earthenware
[438] which they have made, although their women are quite adept
at brewing beer. They also buy the bananas for it from the
Bahutu since they themselves do not own any banana groves.
[563] The Batussi and the Bahutu often drink together but never in
company with the Batwa. The latter may not even drink by
themselves if a Muhutu or even a Mutussi is in the vicinity.

439 It hardly needs to be mentioned that in a country which is still not opened up to trade and commerce no imported alcohol or European spirits can be found.

276 Also, the smoking of hashish is unknown among the Barundi, although it is very popular among the neighboring Wanjamwesi and although hemp (urumogi) grows in certain districts of Urundi, even far into the interior (No. 19, p. 260). They are acquainted neither with the chewing of betel, which unfortunately has been introduced to large areas of East Africa by the Arabs and Indians, nor with any other stimulants except those mentioned above.

[63]

Chapter 5

Games, Dances, Music

517 Like almost all other East African tribes, the children and adults of the Barundi are always ready for games (uwukini), dancing, and amusements. This is true above all of the Batussi who otherwise have nothing or little to do, but also it is true of the large majority of the Bahutu. Even the members of the depressed pariah class of the Batwa are ardent dancers.

857
524 Among the Batussi and the Bahutu many children participate in the games and dances of the adults. Here, as among most Negro tribes, children eight or nine years old are almost as mature as adults. Negro children, after they pass babyhood, never play with the same naïve absorption and gracefulness as our [European] children. There is a whole series of games especially for children and others especially for adults. "Playing

[1] [i.e., the Batwa obtain beer.—Analyst]

857 soldiers" ranks first among the children's games. [Fig. 15 appears
524 here in the original text.] As everywhere else the boys form two opposing armies, and then they try to outsmart each other by engaging in all kinds of maneuvers and attacking each other with bows and spears without, however, doing any harm to each other. These battle game is of a more serious nature: two groups arm themselves with corncobs or stones and keep bombarding each other until one party has suffered enough casualties and takes to flight. Single combat is taken even more seriously: two boys who have insulted and challenged each other beat away at one another with sticks until one of them runs away.

K. Weule discussed several toys used by Barundi children which are now on display in the Berlin Ethnological Museum (Ethnologisches Notizblatt [Ethnological Notes], Vol. II, No. 1, pp. 48-52). For toys, boys make small swords, bows, arrows, and spears of wood or reed. In the Tanganyika area where guns are known, they also make little rifles out of sorghum stalks or bamboo cane from which a wooden arrow is catapulted by a palm stalk acting as a spring (Fig. 15). The boys also make popguns out of cylindrical pieces of tree bark which is removed from the twig in one piece, in the same manner as European boys cut a whistle. Both openings are closed by a plug of wet bast, and then one plug is pushed [64] into the cylinder with a stick so that the other plug is forced out by the compressed air, giving a loud report.

A popular game in which adults also participate is hoop-throwing (ulubangwe). Two groups of players face each other and, by turns, throw a hoop which the opposite party is supposed to catch in the air. This is to be done neither with the hand nor a stick but by means of a piece of cord whose forward end is forked. Each end of this fork has an empty corncob fastened to it. The hoop must be caught in this end of the cord which is tossed toward it. The party who most often succeeds at this is pronounced the winner.

Small kites are made out of pieces of the very light pith of rushes which are held together by a small rod. The tail of the kite is made of a piece of barkcloth. These contraptions fly as

[Text continues on page 95]

Fig. 15. Children's Toy: Reed Gun for Shooting Wooden Arrows.
(Ethnological Museum, Berlin, No. 6515.)

857 524 badly as the little kites made out of newspapers which European children like to build (Weule, loc. cit., p. 51).

Boys and girls like to play at hiding nuts in the sand. This is quite similar to a game played by European children. Squatting on the ground, they make a little heap of sand, put a small nut inside, and divide the heap into five or six segments. The player who has scratched open the greatest number of segments before hitting on the nut is the winner.

The children make tops (irebe) out of a small pumpkin or the shell of a dry fruit which is pierced with a little stick. A bast string is wound around the stick and then quickly pulled by means of a cleft piece of wood held in the other hand. By piercing holes into the top, it is made to produce a buzzing sound (No. 19, p. 320 and Weule, loc. cit., p. 51).

The boys have stick-throwing contests. Each of them takes two sticks, and in turn they hurl their sticks, like spears, from the same place toward the same direction. Anyone whose stick is thrown farther than another stick is entitled to take the other stick and add it to his own collection. The player who ends up with the greatest number of sticks is the winner.

Balls for games are made of all kinds of elastic material. The children throw them to each other or hit them with a stick.

The game of hide-and-seek is also popular, of course. The child who has been discovered in his hiding place must in turn seek the others. As among the Banjaruanda, jumping over a high string or stick is also practiced.

Girls are given less time for playing than boys. From an early age they have to help with the house work, take care of their little brothers and sisters, fetch water, litter, etc., thus getting used to the idea, common to all these peoples, that the woman is a veritable work animal. Even they have some free time, however, which they use mostly for playing with dolls. They make the dolls (umwana) themselves out of a small pumpkin which has been laced tightly in the middle. Eyes, nose, and mouth are indicated by a few holes scratched on one side of the sphere, arms and hands by means of a few strokes on the other side. Or they use the conical reddish blossom of the banana plant. Sometimes a piece of bast material

857 524 is used to make a dress for the doll which is then carried on the back as mothers carry their children.

[65] When they are not drinking or gossiping, the adult
526 men spent their leisure time shooting arrows at a stick placed at a distance of up to 100 meters or more or by lance-throwing contests at any distant object. In the Tanganyika region a quiet
524 sitting game in which only two persons can participate is very popular. It is a game played on a board (ikisoro) resembling
[177] our checker board. It is known to the Wasuaheli as mbao and probably has been imported from there to the Tanganyika area by way of Unjamwesi. From Tanganyika it also penetrated to a few chiefs of central Urundi. The board is rounded off at the edges and has four rows of little bowl-shaped hollows of which there are 32 altogether. Small stones or fruit pits are placed in them. By a complicated system of moves and counter-moves by which one opponent may take stones from the other, one player finally wins all the stones of his opponent. A precise description would lead us too far here, and in any case the game is known from the East African coastal areas.

Weule described (loc. cit., p. 52) the game of patience, ikifundo, that is played in Usige on the north shore of Lake
[177] Tanganyika. It was probably an import from the Arabs or the Wasuaheli. I have not seen it myself.

There are also other widespread games, as, for instance, the string games, which I have not seen played by children or adults.

535 Dances (ivino, uruvino) are included here since they are to a certain extent mere "games." It is true that only a minority of dances are executed for their own sake as amusement; most of them are connected with some family, social, war, or religious celebration and are danced only on these special occasions. They all resemble each other in form, however, and may be described together here, except the religious ones which we shall discuss in the chapter on "Religion" (see p. 127).

Like the Banjaruanda, the Barundi are enthusiastic dancers and dance whenever they have the opportunity. "To amuse oneself, to play, to sing and to dance are synonymous words. They dance well, elegantly (especially the women), even with

595 consummate skill. Boys and girls practice dancing from the earliest age. This they do under the eyes of their parents who encourage and instruct them. For a Murundi of good birth, it would be a disgrace not to be a good dancer" (No. 19, p. 141).

The dances are for the most part mass or group dances, seldom solo dances. They are predominantly stepping dances, seldom hopping or turning dances. Most of them are accompanied by singing, some also by instrumental music. Men execute the great majority of the dances; only one special dance is reserved for the women who never dance with the men. The Batussi participate in all the dances of the Bahutu. Only where many Batussi are gathered, as, for instance, at the royal court, do they dance by themselves. The war dances of the Batussi youths, who are educated at the royal court ("cadet corps") are especially graceful and energetic. No Mutwa is permitted to dance with the Batussi and Bahutu, nor do the latter participate in the Batwa dances, but the Batwa dance often and well among themselves.

All over Urundi and Ruanda the men do the same "national dance." Remarkably enough it is free of any eroticism while the characteristic national dances of the neighboring peoples, especially the Wanjamwesi or even more so the Wawira near Lake Tanganyika, are often more than obscene. [66] This main dance of the men is really a war dance (Plates 31, 32). It is also executed on other occasions of all kinds, either for the mere pleasure of doing it, or to honor a chief or a European, or to celebrate certain anniversaries or occasions which occur only once in a lifetime. The men who participate in the dance arrange themselves with their spears in their right hands in two, three, or four rows. At the curt command of a leader, they execute a series of "figures" in a well-rehearsed sequence. This is mainly leg and foot dancing with the rest of the body hardly involved; only a few figures require any kind of violent movement of the upper part of the body. The main achievement is that the whole group, often numbering several hundred men, stamps the ground rhythmically and in unison, changing from one foot to another all together, as though they were one man. The tempo becomes faster and faster and the stamping progressively heavier without becoming disorderly until suddenly, in one jolt, the figure ends with one movement. For more noise, little iron bells, shaped like cowrie shells, or dried fruit shells, half-filled with pebbles, are tied around the ankles or are fastened to the belt and make a rattling noise at each movement. An interesting description of such a dance can be found in *Kreuz und Schwert* [Cross and Sword], 1900, p. 67:

"What a thrilling spectacle! Imagine several hundred black devils, their spears raised and making the most incredible movements with their bodies, all in the same rhythm. The ground trembles under the feverish stamping of their feet, and the weapons make a weird clanging noise. Everything is hidden in a fantastic semidarkness by big clouds of dust. At one moment the wild horde rushes toward you like a legion of the possessed, at another the whole column of men moves quickly backwards while conscientiously keeping in line as though the whole pack of men were only one single body moving over the ground with the speed of wind. In short, it seems like a dream, the onlooker is caught up by the frenzy. These joyous celebrations last through the entire day until many who have come a long distance set out for home."

R. Kandt (No. 22, p. 254) gives us another vivid description:

"I was especially pleased when in the afternoon, as though at a given signal, the hills around me became alive, and the Warundi came running down the slopes in single file looking like serpents with many tails. They gathered by the hundreds in the center of the camp, and, body pressed to body, they executed a silent dance under the aegis of their choir leader. Their feet were beating the ground in an ever changing rhythm, now in dactyls, now in anapaests, now in spondees. The beat became more violent until finally the black mass of men, with a forest of spears towering over them, was envoloped in an almost impenetrable

535 thick cloud of dust. Through this veil of dust I could see the white in their eyes, the shining rows of their teeth, and their heads thrown back with laughter or ecstasy. It was a strange spectacle which I watched for over an hour without tiring of it. I admired the incredible discipline of this mass of men which reacted to the slightest signal of the choir leader, following promptly the quickly changing rhythms so that it seemed as though the ground trembled under the step of a single giant. [868] Even the small naked boys of six to eight years imitated their fathers and brothers with such adroitness that only rarely did one of them miss a beat in this pedal ceremony. In that case the culprit, blushing with shame, was forced into the background by the angry jeer or rough hand of an adult onlooker."

Another dance, which is seldom done, is executed not in rows but in a wavy line. Holding their spears in their hands, all the men run in single file, keeping the same step by imitating the rhythm of their leader who runs at the head of the line. This produces a sound like that of a galloping horse (No. 19, p. 142).

Solo dances by men are even more rare. The motions of the solo dancer are much livelier than those observed in group dances. Usually the onlookers beat the rhythm by clapping their hands, or a musical accompaniment is made [67] with [534] rattle sticks, a zither (inanga), or a drum. Such a dance is described as follows in Kreuz und Schwert, 1901, p. 212:

"The dancer executes all kinds of jumps: now he approaches the instrument which is setting the rhythm; now he moves away from it in great leaps, now he rushes forward as though he intended to jump over the instrument player; he crawls away on hands and legs, falls backwards onto the ground, suddenly jumps up again; and he continues these antics until he loses his breath. Then someone else takes his place and once more amuses the audience with his wild gyrations. Even though the dancer may be engaged in the wildest leaps, he will stop as suddenly as the instrument player stops his music, for he will not dance without the accompaniment of an instrument."

535 The women always form a circle for their dances. One woman, usually a young girl (sometimes even two), dances in the center. With her arms not quite stretched out and her hands bent upward, she moves to and fro within the circle making all kinds of symbolic movements which are extraordinarily graceful. Von Trotha was very much reminded of the bayaderes (No. 8, p. 72). These dances do not have even a trace of eroticism. Apparently they are an imitation of the characteristics of animals. Van der Burgt interprets the position of the arms as an imitation of the horns of cattle and ascribes an originally religious meaning to the dances (No. 19, p. 142). I feel, however, that in many cases these are supposed to be imitations of the outspread wings of the crowned crane, the characteristic animal of the swampy Ruanda-Urundi landscape, as is also the case with quite similar dances in Ruanda. The position of the rest of the body and the manner of running forward and backward are also, it seems to me, in accord with this. In Ruanda this dance is called "crane dance." Boys and sometimes even men like to take part in it.

While the girl dancing solo (or the two of them) shows her skill in this manner, the women standing around in a circle stamp the ground rhythmically with their feet. They may also sing. A choir leader shouts very short stanzas, sometimes only a single word; which is then repeated by the choir until the choir leader calls out a new stanza.

535 292 There are no special costumes for the dances. Father van der Burgt mentions and gives a picture of a "couronne," a cap made of raffia fibers; from it a long train of fibers hangs down the back. Van der Burgt describes these caps as the decoration of the dancing girls (No. 19, p. 407, and Fig. 138), but these "crowns" are very rare. The Barundi are also not familiar with masked dances or other kinds of disguise connected with dances. There are only certain symbolic cult costumes which are worn by sorcerers or priests leading certain religious dances [302] (see pp. 124, 126, 131 and Plates 25, 54). On the other hand, the faces of the dancers are often painted with white or red earth (cf. pp. 127, 128).

535 The only thing to say about the dances of the Batwa is that in general they resemble the dances of the Bahutu. The Batwa are very enthusiastic dancers, and in their solo dances they perform the strangest gyrations and leaps. Among them also the onlookers accompany the dance by shaking pumpkin rattles and singing short stanzas. This is done in a noisier and wilder fashion than among the Bahutu and the Batussi.

534 I have already mentioned a zither-like instrument, the inanga, with which the Barundi often accompany their solo dances. It consists of a flat, longish bowl of bark or wood. Six to eight cords of sheep gut or sinew are strung across the bowl. We call it a bowl zither (No. 6 of Plate 47). Usually the wood is decorated with a few simple linear decorations, and several holes are pierced in the bottom which are supposed to [68] add richness to the tone. It is noteworthy that the wooden bowl of the instrument is carved by the Batwa while the Bahutu string the cords. Van der Burgt infers from this that the inanga zither was originally the cultural property of the Batwa and was taken over by the Bahutu later (No. 19, p. 387). It seems more probable, judging from its geographical distribution, that it is the cultural property of the Bahima (see p. 158 [not translated]; it occurs both in the north of the Bahima region among the Banjankole and in the south among the Wafipa [Fipa].

The zither is played in a sitting position. The instrument is placed upon the knees, and the strings are plucked with both hands after the player has tuned them correctly by letting them in or out. The tuning is determined entirely by what kind of singing is intended and by the pitch of the singer's voice. I have not noticed that the strings were tuned to any particular sequence of notes in the scale.

533 As in Europe, there are many persons among the Barundi who play an instrument, but only a few can do it really well. There are professional musicians only at the courts of the chiefs. There the musicians, who are predominantly Batwa, play the drums, flutes, and zithers. The same is true in Ruanda.

533 The playing of the zither is almost always accompanied by singing which is done in a rather low voice, mostly in a minor key which is the characteristic key of the Negroes. Neither the voices nor the manner of performing are good. Either the song in short stanzas deals with some local incident, a current event, a person, a personal experience, etc., or it is one of the old traditional Barundi songs whose lyrics are [198] spoken in the Old Kirundi dialect (see p. 148). Apparently they are nothing but a series of unconnected nouns, adjectives, wishes, orders, etc., the meaning of which is not quite clear any more either to the singer or to the listeners (No. 19, p. 97).

534 The ox horn (ikihuha) is the real war or alarm horn. Its narrow end is provided with a hole, and this is the form generally in use in East Africa. Such signal horns are also widely used by the caravans.

The clarinet-like flute (ikihuschama), which is used only as a musical instrument, is much rarer. It is a wooden tube, a third of a meter long, with a funnel-shaped opening. Its lower end has three holes so that various notes can be blown (Nos. 3 and 4 of Plate 47).

On the other hand, a short fife (umwironge) is much more common. Like our fifes, it has a hole near one end which one blows into and two or three holes at the other end which may be stopped alternately. Flutes and fifes are seldom played singly but usually in an orchestra together with drums of which I shall speak later (p. 70).

Reed pipes are more children's toys than real instruments. Their two ends are plugged, and they have a hole in the middle. They are usually carved by boys. Rattle boards (urukajamba) belong in the same category. They are used particularly for accompanying the dances of the girls. These rattle boards are made of pieces of reed arranged in two separate layers which are kept apart by means of a piece of reed placed obliquely so that there is an empty space between the layers. Dry kernels of corn are placed inside. They produce a sharp rattling sound against the reed walls when the box-shaped rattle board is shaken. Rattle sticks are also often used. They consist of sticks

534 to which small pumpkin rattles are fastened (Nos. 1 and 5 of Plate 47). At religious [69] ceremonies single pumpkin rattles are swung (Plate 25a).

Finally drum (ingoma, inkiranji) is both the rarest and the most highly valued instrument. It is not only used for accompanying dances but also as the main orchestral instrument of the chiefs. Often it has great religious significance. The drum [202] is not used at all for the purpose of signaling or transmitting news. In Urundi there is no "drum language" as there is in other African countries.

Drums are made out of a section of a tree trunk which has been cut off straight at one end rounded off at the other end. The inside of the trunk is hollowed out with carving knives, leaving the fairly thin outer walls. It is then placed on a conical wooden pedestal so that the whole thing has approximately the shape of a "wine glass." The grain mortars are similarly shaped. The open upper end is covered with a piece of cattle hide, shaved thin and stretched tightly across, which was soaked in warm water beforehand. The hide is stretched tight by little wooden pegs fastened around the edge of the drum (No. 2 of Plate 47). Two wooden sticks are used as drum sticks.

533 535 If the drum is to be used for accompanying a dance -- which is almost always a solo dance, not a group dance -- two, three, or four men beat on it, each alternating quickly with the other in beating the drum with his two sticks in a certain rhythm. Each drummer uses a beat different from that of the next; each always uses only his particular beat. Thus, if there are four drummers, they produce a drum stanza consisting of four different tempos which are repeated until the "drum leader" starts a new stanza by introducing a new beat. The louder it booms, the better. After a short time one of the drummers suddenly jumps up while the others continue drumming; he makes all kinds of leaps, stamps on the ground, creeps forward, runs back and shakes his drumsticks about as though he were possessed. Just as suddenly, he jumps back to his drum and continues drumming with his partners. Then another drummer follows suit or one of the listeners surrounding the scene, and so

533 on for hours. The drum concert and drum dance are hardly
535 ever accompanied by singing (No. 19, p. 388).

In Urundi and Ruanda drums are such a rarity that an
534 experienced observer wrote as recently as 1901: "In Urundi
drums are unknown" (Kreuz und Schwert [Cross and Sword],
1900, p. 212). During my own two months' journey through
central Urundi, I never heard a single drumbeat. This can
be explained easily by the fact that there remain only a few
small areas in this country where trees still exist that are large
enough to make drums (and boats). It is probably because of
534 their high value that the possession of drums has become a
554 privilege of chiefs and of the king. Neither the "people" of
778 the Barundi (Bahutu or Batussi) nor the Batwa are permitted to
own drums. A special role is reserved for the king's drum.
This drum, in addition to the spear, the finger ring or bracelet (wrist disc), and the holy wooden milk vessels, is part of the royal insignia which the ruler bequeaths to his successor (No. 19, p. 524). This "holy" drum is a kind of Palladium of the realm and, as such, it is given the name akarjenda. It is very big and made from the wood of a special tree. This drum is regarded as the seat of the protective spirit of the realm, and solemn vows are made by this "drum spirit" akarjenda (No. 19, p. 388). Special guards are charged with taking care of [70] this royal drum (see p. 187 [not translated]). It is always kept at the residence of the king and, together with the holy spears and the holy milk vessels, it also accompanies him on his trips (report by Captain von Langenn). The hides used for the holy drums [sic] are taken exclusively from the cattle of the so-called "holy herd" (see p. 44).

533 Neither van der Burgt nor any other observer reports having heard of the combination of several drums and other instruments to form an orchestra, but natives assured me that such an orchestra existed at the royal court and that it consisted of Batwa. I consider this very likely since there is such an orchestra, a combination of several differently tuned drums and flutes, at the residence of Musinga, king of Ruanda. The members of the orchestra are Batwa. It sounds very melodious

533 and is quite impressive when, beginning with one muffled drum, the other drums gradually join in through a long rhythmic sequence, the sound of the orchestra rises to its full force, and then the flutes join at a shrill pitch. The sound of the orchestra then gradually diminishes, one drum after the other falls silent, until finally the muffled beat of the first drum softly fades away. At night, however, the tired European may be driven almost to despair by this drum orchestra. Everyone who has been a guest of Musinga will remember this night music.

We have already discussed the musical aspect of the songs with which instrumental music and dances are accompanied (p. 68). At this point I would like to add something about the content of these songs as taken down by van der Burgt. He states that the lyrics of these songs, sung mostly in unconnected Old Kirundi words (see pp. 124, 148), are not even understood in their original meaning by most of the Barundi themselves. A question about their meaning is usually answered by: "It means nothing, it is only a song." Only those who have been initiated in the esoteric meaning by the learned men, sorcerers and priests, have some understanding of the true meaning of these songs (No. 19, p. 97).

For example, these are the lyrics of a song accompanied by a zither:

[539] "Ntiwarima uy' umwaka, ntiwarima.
ninanga usiwire. umugaso utasimbe.
yagese ku' nama. isenge iritschjika."

(Translation: The field is not cultivated this year, i. e., war has been declared. Chief Ninanga stays here. The water ditch does not flow, i. e., the ditch forming the border is dry. It passes close to the homestead. The amulet is broken, i. e., a bad omen for the war.)

In contrast to these old traditional songs, the songs improvised during the dance generally have some connection with current events and are sung in the modern colloquial language. Even these are not coherent songs either but merely short interrupted sentences and thoughts.

533 This does not apply to religious songs which are sung at certain cult ceremonies. We shall discuss them in the chapter on "Religion" (p. 127).

533 461 Often, but not always, singing of the simplest form accompanies work done by several persons with the object of concentrating the individual's energies by means of the rhythm or to make for greater perseverance. For instance, this may be done while moving heavy objects, when hoeing the field in a group, rowing a boat, cutting trees, etc. Usually the song consists of only two or three words which are first sung by one person in the group and are then imitated by the others until the choir leader gives them a new word, a new "idea."

[71] Chapter 6

Means of Communication, Trade, Handicrafts

1. Means of Communication

487 In a country with as little internal and external trade as Urundi the means of communication are naturally very primitive. The roads connecting villages or districts with each other are simple, narrow, trampled footpaths which circumvent all obstacles by turning to the right or left. Wherever this is impossible, as, for instance, in the extremely rocky quartzite regions of central and east Urundi, obstacles are never moved out of the way but are simply left there, and the traveler has to climb over them. These paths in the quartzite regions are, therefore, extremely difficult to traverse for the non-native burden carrier in a caravan or even for a European. The difficulties are further increased by the fact that all the paths of Urundi and Ruanda tend to reach the hill ridges and highland plains which predominate in this area by the shortest possible route, in order to proceed along there with greater ease. Since many valleys are deeply cut and have steep sides, the paths which go

487 up and down the slopes in a straight line are a real nightmare
for any non-Murundi.

Another circumstance which makes journeying more
491 arduous is that in spite of the innumerable streams and rivers
there are hardly any bridges (ikiraro) in the whole of Urundi
and Ruanda. The chief reason for this defect is the lack of
suitable timber in these treeless areas. Even where there is
still a sufficient number of trees, a bridge is built only in very
rare cases since the entire width of the valley bottoms is usually
covered with reed or papyrus swamps through the middle of
which weaves a narrow, open watercourse. The swamps are too
wide for building bridges.

Usually there is no other way but to wade through the
swampy valley bottoms and streams up to one's knees or hips
in the black, stinking morass. Only rarely are papyrus fronds
or reeds cut down in bunches and piled next to each other and
on top of each other to form a kind of floating bridge which
prevents the travelers from sinking too deeply into the swamp.
When reaching wide, open rivers, such as the Ruvuvu, Akanjaru,
Luvironsa, and others, the traveler seeks out well-known fords
and wades across, often up to his shoulders in water, and he
uses a stick or a spear for support against the force of the
[482] stream. Everything that has to be kept dry must be carried in
a bundle on the head. At the same time there is much shouting
to frighten away the crocodiles. If the river is too deep,
501 dugouts are used for the crossing, and the shore dwellers make
505 a living at this. [72] If only a few persons and light burdens
have to be ferried across, primitive rafts (ikitebo) are used.
They are made of several layers of dried papyrus sticks which
are tied together (Plate 26b). The rafts may be used a few
times until they have soaked up too much water. On the
Malagarasi River, large tubs made of tree bark are used. They
are big enough for one man or one burden and are pulled and
pushed across the river by two or three men who have to swim
(No. 19, p. 448).

491 If it happens that a big tree is standing near a deep
stream which cannot be forded, it is transformed into a bridge

491 by cutting it down, causing it to fall across both edges of the brook. If necessary, a rope of lianas is spanned across next to the bridge to help the traveler maintain his balance when walking over it. I have seen several such tree bridges in Uha where there are more trees than in Urundi. There are no suspension bridges.

In the whole interlacustrine region I have not seen any real bridges built by the natives themselves. Yet van der Burgt describes such a bridge: a few fork-shaped poles are rammed next to each other in the stream bed, and a few long pieces of timber are placed in the forks approximately parallel to each other, thus spanning the entire stream. A great number of crossbeams, approximately two meters long, are fastened to these, and finally bundles of reed or papyrus stalks are tied on top of them so that one may comfortably walk across.

Wherever missionary stations or colonial troops have built roads, there are solid wooden bridges on the European model, and wherever the route traverses swamps, there are earthen dams and corduroy roads. However, the lack of trees in this country will always be an obstacle to the construction of bridges.

The natives always make the cattle swim through the water or wade through the swamps even when bridges exist. Any crocodiles which may be in the vicinity are frightened away by shouting.

482 Since neither the Barundi nor the Banjaruanda have animals to ride or burden-carrying animals, all burdens and also people who are unable or unwilling to walk have to be carried by men. Burdens are packed in small or large bundles, generally wrapped in dry banana leaves, or in large baskets made of plaited bast. They are carried freely on the head or sometimes, for a change, on the shoulder but never in a sling or net on the back as, for example, in Kisiba or in Usâmbiro.

493 However, sick people or important persons who do not wish to walk travel on a stretcher (isjugi) which is carried by two men on their shoulders. The king also uses such a stretcher for

493 relatively long distances. These are not the comfortable, beautifully plaited carrying baskets which are in use in Ruanda for Musinga and the Batussi rulers, but in most cases they are merely two strong poles connected by crossbars which are covered with a layer of straw or a sheep skin. The traveler either lies on it or sits on it with his legs crossed under him. Old King Kisabo, who was almost blind, often traveled in this manner for several days (Plate 13a). Nevertheless, even in Urundi large, plaited wickerwork stretchers occur.

501 I have already briefly mentioned the boats (ubwato) in the chapter on fishing (p. 37). They are almost without exception dugouts. Only rarely and only in the easternmost region can one observe small bark canoes [73] which apparently are used solely for crossing the intermittent streams that appear during the rainy season in summer. During the dry season one can see them cracked open lying beside the dry stream beds. They are only used during one rainy season, and new ones have to be built each summer. They consist merely of three pieces of tree bark patched together with tree bast. One piece forms the bottom, the other two the sides. They hold no more than two persons.

Dugouts, however, are strong and durable, although technically they are extremely defective. We shall discuss the manner of their construction later, in the section on "Handicrafts" (p. 82); at this point we shall only describe how they are used and manipulated. On the rivers of central Urundi dugouts are rare, and due to the lack of large trees, they are small and poorly constructed (Plate 5b). Often they are quite crooked, so it is difficult to keep them balanced. In forest regions, as in north Urundi, on Lake Tanganyika, and on the Ruzizi River, they are of better quality, larger, and more numerous. On Lake Tanganyika, canoes 15 meters long and 1,50 meters wide are no rarity. The best are from the west
[313] shore, from Uwembe, where the tall forest furnishes a supply
[439] of good timber. They are sold to the Barundi for goats or pearls and are valued at about six to ten rupees.

501 Most boats are somewhat tapered and pointed in front and in back which makes them easy to land on the flat shore. None of the boats is equipped with a rudder; they are steered by one of the oarsmen. No oars are used in shallow water, for instance, near the shores of Lake Tanganyika; instead, long bamboo poles are used to punt the boats (Plate 26a). Short "oars" (ingaffi), approximately one and a half meters long, are used in water which is deep or when there is a strong current. The heart-shaped blades of the oars are slightly bent so that they in effect scoop the water. The oars are not suspended in slings or 502 inserted in holes but manipulated freely. The oarsmen or punters usually stand upright in the boat facing forward. If there is only one man in the boat, he will take his position at the stern; if there are two, they stand in the rear third of the boat; if there are three men, two take their places in back and one in front; if there are four, two stand in front and two in back. Only long tiring trips do they sit on the crossbars. Anyone who is not rowing crouches on the bottom of the canoe.

A heavy stone tied to a bast rope is used for an anchor. [501] There are no masts, sails, or outriggers. None of the boats is decorated with carvings or paintings. If water has entered, it is scooped out with pumpkin shells or with little wooden shovels. If, however, a boat has sprung a crack or a leak, it is repaired in the following manner: holes are pierced near the edges of the crack with a red-hot point of iron; by means of these holes, a wooden board is tied to the hull with bast ropes as though "sewing" a patch. Then the crack is calked on both sides with tree bast or reed. Bitumen, which occurs frequently on Lake Tanganyika, is also used for that purpose.

The Batwa do not have any boats but they know how to make them for their Barundi masters (No. 19, p. 66).

The poor construction of the dugouts prohibits extended trips on Lake Tanganyika. It is very seldom that a large boat with several oarsmen will cross the lake from Usumbura to Uvira. Most boats hug the shoreline, not moving more than 100 to 200 meters away from it, and even when going from Usumbura to Uvira, they move along the north shore of the lake. Frequently the government in Usumbura sends dugouts to Ujiji and

502 vice versa. These dugouts also hug the shoreline so that it is possible to punt for the entire distance, which is faster than rowing. [74] It takes them five days to cover the distance between these two points which, measured in a straight line, are approximately 180 kilometers apart. At the present time [136] they only travel at night since the Glossina palpalis, the dreaded transmitter of sleeping sickness, swarms in many places on the lake during the daytime.

484 The provisions for such trips lasting several days are generally taken along from the point of departure. They usually consist of sweet potatoes which are simply piled on the bottom of the boat and boiled whenever the boats land at a resting place.

481 The lake dwellers learn how to swim (kuoga) when they are still children, but because of the crocodiles they do not go into the water very far. People seldom swim in the interior where the rivers have many crocodiles. The swimming stroke is the same among all East African Negroes: with one arm far outstretched, the swimmer throws himself from one side to the other, striking out with only one arm at each stroke.

2. Trade, Money, Weights and Measures

439 In the whole of Urundi, the only trade worth mentioning is in the Tanganyika district. For political reasons, the government has closed off the entire area of central Urundi to foreign trade and traffic. Only a limited number of traveling merchants are permitted. Thus, trade in this area is limited 438 chiefly to the exchange of local products among the natives. With the exception of salt, this trade is not carried on over long distances but only between neighboring communities.

443 In the Tanganyika district of Urundi markets (akaguriro) are held daily in many places due to the influence of the adjacent Congo State. In central Urundi, however, this useful institution is unknown except in the vicinity of missionary stations and at the new residency, Gitega. During the past years, however, in

443 spite of the sleeping sickness, there has been a marked increase in the number of Barundi from the interior visiting some of these markets on Lake Tanganyika and more trading trips by Tanganyika people to central Urundi to buy cattle hides and wax, which they then bring to Usumbura.

Among themselves the Barundi of the distant interior trade
438 field produce for other produce or for goats, sheep, hides, bark-
317 cloth, pots, iron hoes, etc. The latter items are produced
mainly by the Batwa (p. 77). The only trade object transported over a long distance is salt which is not found anywhere in Urundi itself. Formerly it was for the most part imported from adjoining Uha, but at present it is sold in much better quality by the Gottorp saltworks on the lower Malagarási River which is under European management. It finds its way to the interior by way of Usumburá (Plate 27a).

Formerly palm oil was the main trade commodity in the
439 Tanganyika region (p. 53), but since all traffic and trade in the Tanganyika region has been paralyzed by the terrible sleeping sickness epidemic, the oil trade, too, has decreased considerably. The smaller portion of the oil goes to central Urundi, the larger portion is absorbed by Ujiji and the west shore of the lake which is part of the Congo state. Bananas, pombe beer, butter, fish, goats, and sheep are exported both to central Urundi and to Ujiji and the eastern Congo. The Congo region sends mainly caoutchouc, a little ivory, and cattle in exchange. By far the greatest portion of trade with the Congo area is carried out by smuggling. [75] While import and export is free in the German controlled area, Congo authorities have imposed large tariffs on imports and exports. The natives, however, are very adept at circumventing them. Most of the smuggled products are brought in on paths through the swamp thickets of the Ruzizi which are very difficult to control.

439 Only wax and cattle hides are exported from central Urundi.
435 In exchange, beads and thick wire (iron, copper, brass) are the main imports, in addition to relatively little cotton material but much salt. In 1911 it was calculated that about 18,000 to 20,000 cattle hides, priced at eight rupees or the equivalent

439 per farsalah [Arab., equal to approximately 35 British pounds], 435 were annually exported to Usumbura from central Urundi. The wax export amounted to 500 to 700 farsalah a year at 18 to 20 rupees per farsalah. The hides are mostly those of animals who had to be killed because of injury or sickness since only a few animals are killed to be eaten or sacrificed (p. 45). Live cattle are not exported at all because the Batussi owners of the cattle are very reluctant to part with them. Furthermore, there will not be a very good market for live cattle as long as they cannot be transported by rail and steamer to European buyers. Another serious obstacle to cattle export is the fact that the whole of Urundi, with the exception of the northern part of it (adjoining Ruanda) and the vicinity of Ujiji, is surrounded by a broad belt inhabited by the noxious tsetse fly. Perhaps it will someday be possible to break through this by means of railroads and special protective arrangements.

These two local products, wax and cattle hides, form the bulk of trade. They are exported for the most part from Usumbura via Kigali to Bukoba or from east Urundi via Ussuwi to Bukoba. Only a small portion is directed via Ujiji since the journey across the country to the coast is too long and expensive. [491] Even the Tanganyika railroad will hardly change this situation for the time being considering the high freight rates it charges. 482 In 1911 a burden carrier, who carries 60 to 70 pounds and more, 465 received four to five rupees for the distance from Usumbura to Kigali, eight to nine rupees for the distance from Usumbura to Bukoba, and seven to eight rupees for the return trip from Bukoba to Usumbura on which he does not have to carry so unwieldy a burden as dry cattle hides. Because of sleeping sickness, the 487 trade route from Usumbura through the Ruzizi valley to Lake Kivu is closed.

Trading activity at the markets has, of course, also been 443 affected by sleeping sickness. As recently as 1900 there were still over a dozen well-frequented markets in a radius of three hours distance from Usumbura. The market in Usumbura itself had approximately 5,000 visitors daily. At present, however, only two markets in this area are still of some importance, Usumbura itself (Plate 27b) and Kajagga on the northern tip of

443 the lake. A recent addition to this in the interior is the market near the new government station at Gitega which is growing in importance. Apart from these, there are a whole number of small markets serving purely local needs. The market at Usumbura which is held from six o'clock in the morning until 10 or 11 o'clock -- like all other markets -- is still frequented by over 1,000 persons a day. It is conducted in a very orderly fashion under German governmental supervision. There is even a large roof
[347] of corrugated iron to protect the market from the sun and rain. The vendors, most of them women, squat in long rows under the roof and out in the open; each has his merchandise arranged in front of him in baskets or spread out on mats or banana leaves. The list of local products recorded by van der Burgt 15 years ago is still valid today: oil, salt, beer, cotton material, fish, mats, pots, jugs, bundles of tobacco, snuff, balls of soap, millet, [76] corn, flour, bananas, peanuts, sugar cane, sweet potatoes, yams, manioc, pumpkins, beef, goats, sheep, chickens, nets, spear shafts, bamboo poles, canes of reeds, firewood, rope, string, hoes, etc. In addition to this, today one may see all sorts of cheap European industrial products, such as brightly colored cotton blankets, various printed cotton materials, petroleum, cigarettes, glass beads, iron, copper and brass wire, hardware, and china.

443
562 Von Trotha also describes the markets as "the most characteristic feature of the region. Here every conceivable object is traded with much shouting or paid for with strings of beads and goods. There were thousands of haggling and shouting people at the market of Munkasa on the northeast shore of Lake Tanganyika, but everything is settled in an orderly fashion and without fighting. One may buy a woman for ten strings of red beads, and once tired of her, she may be returned to the market and once more exchanged for beads." (No. 8, p. 77). Of course, the trade in women has stopped now, and even at the time of Trotha's journey in 1896 it must have been a very rare transaction.

443 The market is the place where people meet, inspect
571 merchandise and observe other people, gossip, hear and pass on
[203] news items, drink pombe, discuss business and non-business
matters, and where they do many things which are useful and
many others which are superfluous. Many Barundi visit the
market even if they do not intend to buy or sell anything,
merely to amuse themselves. If things become too lively in
[625] the beer section or if a fight starts, the market police aided by
the peaceful elements among the population quickly succeed in
restoring order.

The German East African heller is the current coin at the
436 main markets of Usumbura, Kajagga, and Gitega. Silver rupees,
half rupees, and quarter rupees are seldom seen. Apart from the heller, all sorts of other money substitutes are in circulation at other markets of the northern lakeshore belonging to Urundi. The heller has not yet penetrated into the large area of central Urundi, and it is known only at the few missionary and government posts and along the main roads linking them. Even there it is accepted reluctantly. Beads are still the most important medium of exchange in this area, notwithstanding the efforts of the government to introduce hellers and rupees everywhere in order to facilitate not only trade but also the future collection of taxes. These efforts will only meet with success after Urundi has actually been placed under government administration and after a hut or head tax has been introduced which has to be paid in currency. The same is true of Ruanda. There, however, the use of currency has already spread considerably as a result of the export trade and the residency at Kigali with its traders' settlement which has been established in the interior for years.

The small coin most in use in Urundi is the pink bead
simsim or samsam; a string (kete, Kette? [Kette, "string" in
German]) of beads, approximately 30 centimeters long, is the
monetary unit. It is equivalent to three hellers. Ten strings
equal 1 ifundo; 10 ifundo equal 1 ingoje; 10 ingoje equal 1
[301] akanono (No. 19, p. 111). The samsam bead is also used as
the principal neck ornament of men and women.

436 An elongated, violet bead, with white stripes, inganga, is more valuable: one inganga bead equals one kete of samsam beads. Still more valuable are the thick white amaguru beads; a double necklace of these is valued at 10 kete of samsam beads. In addition to these, there are, especially in the lake region, medium-sized blue beads and reddish and white ones with a lacquer-like sheen, also large spindle-shaped white beads with red circles, and others. All these types, however, do not have a fixed monetary value, [77] like those mentioned above; their exchange value fluctuates. Yellow, green, and black beads are not accepted anywhere.

435 Naturally, the available stock of beads and the law of supply and demand also determine the value of the "monetary" beads. In general, these were the rates of exchange which formerly applied in the interior: 5 bananas = 1 heller, 1 bunch of about 20 bananas = 1 kete, more than 2 double handfuls of flour = 1 kete, 1 handful of salt = 1 kete, 1 pot of beer = 3 kete, 1 iron hoe = 6 kete, 1 pot of honey = 1 ifundo, 1 goat = 3 ifundo, 1 sheep = 4 ifundo, 1 bull = 5 to 10 ingoje, 1 cow = 20 ingoje. At present, one goat costs as much as 3 to 4 rupees in the interior, and all other prices have risen proportionately.

439 435 Cotton material which was formerly strictly banned by the chiefs is now accepted eagerly in the interior. The most popular brand is the ordinary white "amerikani" of which 1 gora of 30 ells [an ell is between 55 and 80 centimeters] is valued at approximately 12 rupees in the interior. The "lesso" or "kanga," printed materials with brown patterns which are popular in Ruanda, are gradually being introduced all over Urundi.

804 The double handful (kumaschi) or, on the markets, a pumpkin shell of equal capacity is the generally accepted dry measure for flour, grain, beans, etc. Larger items, like manioc roots, sweet potatoes, bananas etc., are sold by the
804 piece. There are no domestic weights. The farsalah (35 pounds
177 Brit.) used all over East Africa since Arab times has only been

804 introduced here through contact with foreigners in the export
177 trade. It is used, for instance, for cattle hides, ivory, and wax.

The use of cowrie shells as money is known neither in
[436] Urundi nor in Ruanda.

3. Handicrafts

463 In his excellent book, Handwerk und Industrie in Ostafrika
433 [Handicraft and Industry in East Africa], (L. Friederichsen & Co., Hamburg, 1910) F. Stuhlmann writes: "It must be emphasized that in Africa handicrafts are almost everywhere only a matter of secondary importance; the basis of the economy is agriculture" (p. 3). This also applies to Urundi where handicrafts are, for the most part, "homework," that is, raw products are worked for one's personal use at home, and only the surplus is traded for the products of others. Home industry, that is, the production in quantity at home for the use of others and for export, exists only for pottery and iron-working. On the other hand, there is
[437] also the practice of paid labor whereby the craftsman is paid for manufacturing items at the house of the person who ordered them, using raw material furnished by this person, for example, in the production of barkcloth, the construction of a hut, and wood carving. Of course there are skillful and unskillful people in every trade and in every family, and the products of the former are naturally preferred to those of the latter. Only in pottery
463 and ironwork is the craft passed on from father to son. It is
462 mainly the Batwa who practice these two crafts and pass them on
563 from generation to generation, but there are also Bahutu families in which pottery and ironwork are hereditary (No. 19, p. 369). Ironwork, wood carving, and the production of barkcloth are exclusively reserved to men, plaiting and basketry to women. Among the Bahutu, pottery, too, is only made [78] by women; among the Batwa it is mainly done by women but to some extent also by men (No. 19, p. 451).

323 Pottery (inkono, pot) is of course practiced predominantly where the suitable type of clay occurs. This is the case in many

323 of the slate districts of Urundi and Ruanda where good pottery clay (uwumba) has formed from decomposed or alluvial slate. In most cases its color ranges from dark gray to black. Thus it happens that entire potters' villages are built at such sites, a process which has been, and still is, greatly facilitated by the caste separation the pariah-like Batwa.

The clay is dug by the men, kneaded with water, and beaten with a club until it has been freed of rough particles and becomes pliable. A small, round clod of clay which has been somewhat flattened with the hand is placed on a piece of a broken pot which serves as a foundation. A sausage-like ring of clay is superimposed around the edge so as to make a kind of bowl (Plate 7b). Adding superimposed long rings of clay is then repeated. The joints are filled in and smoothed out with a moist hand. All the time the whole thing is constantly turned around on the broken piece (urudsjo) under it (a primitive potter's wheel). While it is turning, the object is polished with the hand and water is sprinkled on it until the pot attains the desired size and shape. The rim is then evened off with a tree leaf. The real finishing, inside and out, is undertaken only after the vessel has dried somewhat in the air. For this purpose a piece of calabash, a small piece of wood, a piece of bark, or a little flat stone is used. Finally, simple linear
323 decorations (wavy lines or zigzag rows of short lines) are
381 scratched below the neck of the vessel with a pointed piece of wood or iron. No figures are scratched on the surface, nor are the pots dyed or even glazed. Van der Burgt believes that the wavy and zigzag lines of the decorations are supposed to be mysterious symbols for the "lightning of Imana," the highest god, which might be regarded as "a kind of hieroglyphic writing" (No. 19, p. 452). I do not believe that the potters are so profound, and I regard the patterns as a purely mechanical expression of the desire for ornamentation. The Barundi and Batwa themselves also assured me that these patterns had no deeper meaning. Clay pots of the European Stone Age show the same simple decoration which is determined purely by primitive techniques.

323 Once the pot is finished, it is first dried in the sun and
then baked. For this purpose a large number of pots already
baked are placed on the ground with their openings downward
to serve as a support upon which a number of corn or sorghum
stalks are placed in a crisscross fashion. The new pots are put
close together on top of this. Since firewood is seldom avail-
[372] able, dry grass is piled on them and set on fire. One keeps
adding dry grass until the pots are thoroughly baked. At last
the finished pots are picked out of the ashes and cooled by
sprinkling water on them. The pieces of ash adhering to them
are not removed, however, for they are proof that the pot has
[563] not been used yet; no Murundi would ever buy a used pot from
a Mutwa.

323
415 The Barundi and especially the Batwa make earthenware
vessels of different shapes and for different uses (Plate 48): small
elongated pitchers with narrow necks for fetching and storing
water and beer; large round or thick-bellied pots with a bigger
opening for cooking; basins and bowls for drinking; bulging pots
with conical lids for [79] storing butter; broad funnels for pour-
[276] ing liquids; and, in rare instances, also vessels with two open-
ings and tobacco pipes with two bowls for votive purposes, like
[782] those found in Ruanda (No. 19, p. 452, and Fig. 11; No. 48,
p. 318). Large three-legged pots are made only for religious
rituals (p. 127).

323
276 Tobacco pipes (inkono j'itabi, injungu) deserve special
mention, although they play only a minor role among the
Barundi people who are chiefly addicted to snuff. These pipes
are made only by men and are much cleaner and more delicate
than the other pottery products of the Barundi. Their basic shape
is the same as in Ruanda, but individually they vary in form
between pointed, funnel-shaped, and almost round bowls, de-
pending on the whim of the producer or the customer (Plate 49).

415
323
431 None of the earthenware vessels of the Barundi has a flat
bottom or a handle; at best there is a raised edge for gripping.
Thus they always have to be supported by stones or placed into
a hollow in the ground or into a ring formed of straw. It is true
that in the Tanganyika district one may often see vessels with
handles, beaks, or feet, but these are without exception products

323 of the Wawira who live on the west shore of Lake Tanganyika
415 439 in the Congo State, and they have this shape only if specially
ordered. The simple Barundi vessels are very cheap: in
[435] Usumbura a large cooking pot is sold for one heller; in the
interior two pots cost one kete of pearls.

The Barundi are hardly less adept at basketry (kudsjischa)
285 than the Banjaruanda, but as far as patterns and decoration are
concerned, they are far inferior to the latter. Basketry may be
divided into three types: the binding technique, the weaving
technique, and the coiling technique (No. 32a, p. 42). The
binding technique is the simplest of the three. Reed stalks,
papyrus strips, tufts of grass, or rushes are arranged side by side
and then are bound together with a few transverse bast strings.
Mats, open baskets, and sieves are manufactured in this manner,
but this work is so loosely woven as to be useful only for a
limited number of purposes. In any case, there are very few
[352] mats in the interior of Urundi; even the chiefs usually sit on
the bare ground or on a hide. In some areas, however, such
[513] mats, woven with long stalks of grass, are used; people wrap
them around their naked bodies when going to sleep (No. 19,
p. 390). In the Tanganyika district there are many more mats.
It seems that they were introduced from the Congo and from
the north (Ruanda). It is remarkable that in Urundi only men
[462] weave mats, which is the case even for the Batwa, whereas in
Ruanda only women make the delicately woven ground mats,
bed screens, bed mats, wall screens, etc., which often have
beautiful patterns.

285 The weaving technique is much more widespread. It is
415 used in manufacturing baskets, plates, bags, sacks, and other
things (Plate 51). Usually two layers of thin strips of bast are
interlaced with each other at right angle, like a mesh. Depending on the material, this texture is firm and elastic or soft and flexible, but in all cases it is closely woven. The instruments used for this technique are a thin wooden stick which loosens the mesh to facilitate the passage of the material and an iron needle without an eye but with a little projection for winding the bast string so as to pull it through. In this way they produce large and small, round and square, tall and flat, open and

285 lidded baskets, long narrow containers for tubes to suck beer,
415 very large baskets with lids which are used as traveling trunks,
meal winnowers, plates, grain sacks, sometimes even quivers
for arrows, and other things. Very occasionally [80] simple
[531] linear patterns are produced by interlacing strips of bast dyed
black. In Urundi this weaving technique is exclusively prac-
[462] ticed by women; only the large flat meal winnowers are manu-
factured by men (No. 19, p. 577), presumably because they
[237] are calked with cow dung, a product of cattle which women can
[184] have nothing to do with as a matter of principle.

The coiling technique is used for making basketry with long,
295 thin, straw or bast rolls, with thread wrapped round them (simi-
lar to the beehives of our peasants). These rolls are laid in
spiral fashion on top of each other and are tightly fitted by the
bast string tied around them; for this reason this is also referred
to as the spiral-technique (Plate 50). It is used for producing
baskets and bowls with walls which are thicker and more resistant
to shock and pressure than those manufactured by the weaving
technique. The spiral technique is also employed in making
[415] waterproof cups, the long pointed lids of the gourd bottles used
[482] for beer, and the often very pretty wreath-shaped rings used for
keeping vessels in an upright position and for carrying burdens
[462] on the head. This technique is also only practiced by women.
285 Stuhlmann assumes that it is of Hamitic origin (No. 32a, p. 44).
171 This would account for its general geographic distribution and
for the high stage of development to which it has been brought in
the Batussi states. F. von Luschan also points out that this
technique is characteristic of Hamitic tribes or tribes under
Hamitic influence, ranging from the Somali to the Ovambo
[Ambo] (No. 40, p. 252).

286 Finally we wish to mention the carrying nets which are
352 made of intertwined bast strings simply tied together crosswise.
They are hung inside the huts to hold calabashes and other ob-
jects (Plate 51). The Barundi could not do without these nets,
for even inside the huts plaited work cannot be left standing on
the floor since it would be eaten by the termites.

286 The Lake Barundi of the Tanganyika district plait fishing
177 nets with either a wide or narrow mesh in a similar fashion, but

286 this seems to be an art which they learned from the Congolese [171] Wawira and Wabemba [Bembe] (No. 19, p. 577).

The Barundi are not familiar with the technique of weaving [287] material for garments. They wear garments made of barkcloth [291] and hides, and only in recent times have they started to use [177] European cotton fabrics.

Wood carving (uwuwasi) obviously ranks second to pottery, 322 weaving, and metalworking in a country with as few trees as Urundi. Most carving is done in the western mountain regions where there are still remnants of primeval forest with tall trees. [178] From there these objects are exported to the almost treeless areas of the interior. The Batwa in particular are good wood [462] carvers. As among the Bahutu and Batussi, only men engage in wood carving. Everyone makes his own ordinary wooden household objects, such as poles, sticks, pestles for pounding grain, hoe handles, knife handles, and similar objects, since they do not require any particular technical skill. Other woodworking that requires technical knowledge and experience, such as spear shafts, bows, arrows, quivers, wrist discs, milk pails, bellows, shields, and grain mortars, is done by specialists who exchange or sell their products (Plate 52). Moreover, a characteristic feature of the wood carving of the Barundi and Banjaruanda and one which Stuhlmann calls attention to for all African wood carving (No. 32a, p. 28) is that objects are always made from a single piece of wood. Products made of several pieces of wood are extremely rare; both in Urundi and in Ruanda the only ones are knife and dagger sheaths consisting of two flat boards tied 322 together. A combination of wood carving and plaiting tech- 411 niques is found in one type of shield (ingabo) whose oblong wooden 285 plate is covered [81] with plaited work consisting of strips of fig bark and rattan, leaving only the boss in the center of the shield uncovered (Plate 53). This type of shield is extremely rare in Urundi. In Ruanda there are more of these shields covered with plaited work -- ascribed by Stuhlmann to the kulturkreis of the Bahima (No. 32a, p. 30) -- but, nevertheless, they occur only sporadically. They are numerous only near the Uganda border.

322 The Barundi do not have a special tool for wood carving,
412 only the two small chopping knives, the sickle-shaped, long-
handled cutting knife (Plate 46, No. 4) with which we are al-
ready familiar from the discussion of agriculture (p. 49), and
the short and long knives which are used for all kinds of daily
jobs (Fig. 16). To round and smooth spear shafts, a small piece
of wood is stuck on a small double-edged knife, at an angle.
Then the knife is moved back and forth along the shaft until the
wood has been scraped and given the desired shape. The wooden
arm discs, after having been cut from a block of wood, are
shaved with a knife and polished with fig leaves (which are
probably flinty) until they have the elegant, mathematically
correct shape and smooth surface which we admire in them.
[Fig. 16 appears here in the original text.]

The simple parallel linear decorations which are occasion-
[531] ally seen on wooden utensils and calabashes are seldom carved
but generally burnt in by a kind of poker-work. For this purpose
small notches are made in an old knife or spear point so that
several tooth-like points are formed. This iron is made red-hot
and then passed over the wood; its points burn a number of ab-
solutely parallel lines into the surface (No. 19, p. 367). Apart
from this, saws for cutting wood are as unknown as drills and
nails. Because of this, holes are also made in wood by means
of red-hot iron. As everywhere else in East Africa where saws
are not available, boards or beams are carved from thick logs
by chopping and cutting chips and splinters from both sides of
the block until a board of the desired thickness remains. For
this reason the traveler in these regions can hardly present the
chiefs with a more welcome gift than a sturdy handsaw, a hand-
drill, hammers, iron nails, and other tools.

322 Nowhere in Urundi or Ruanda did I see either human or
532 animal figures scratched or cut into the surface of wood or
carved from wood. Only among the Barundi on Lake Tanganyika
[177] does one find carved wooden figures, an art which was intro-
duced from the Congo region. Finally, the decorations found
322 on many -- not all -- of the wooden [82] hand discs deserve to be
531 mentioned. They are inlaid with iron, copper or brass spirals,

[Text continues on page 124]

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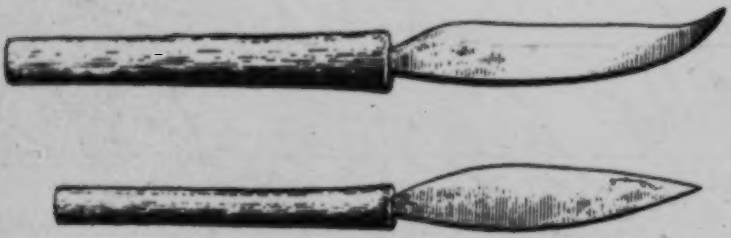

Fig. 16. Barundi Work Knives.

(Ethnological Museum, Berlin, No. 6386.)

531 angular or round pieces of foil and pins (Plates 34 and 35).
322 Occasionally their entire surface is almost completely covered with such thin metal inlays. They are attached to the surface by scratching the outlines of the metal pieces into the wood, then hollowing out the area within these outlines, filling it with wax, and, finally, pressing in the spirals and metal foils. There are only a few artists who master this technique. In Ruanda such metal inlays are seen on only a few hand discs and on the horns worn around the neck as part of the dancing costume. There the inlays consist of strips of zinc and lead.

396 The biggest carved object of the Barundi and the one most difficult to make is the boat, the dugout (ubwato). As we have seen above (p. 73), dugouts are rare in this almost treeless country, and their use is confined to a few of the larger rivers and to Lake Tanganyika and the Ruzizi River. Dugouts are ordered and paid for by chiefs who are in need of a boat for ferrying purposes in their district or by families engaged in fishing who can afford the expense. The Batwa are the best boat builders; the technique is a specialty of theirs (No. 19, p. 367). [412] The two instruments used in the construction are a chopping knife whose blade is set at an angle and whose handle is gripped with both hands and an ax with a short handle. The tree -- the thicker and straighter the better -- is felled by thousands of blows. The bark is then removed with axes, and the log is first hewn roughly to the desired length and thickness of the boat. Then it is given its external shape: the bulging sides, the round bottom without a keel, and the somewhat pointed bow and stern. Finally the inner trough is hollowed out. This, too, is done solely with axes and knives. In other regions of East Africa this is accomplished by starting small fires on the upper side of the tree trunk. These fires gradually eat their way into the trunk, and the charred parts are scraped out until only the hull remains. According to their own testimony, the Barundi do not know this technique. After the job is more or less done, the boat, before being launched, is filled with water in order to test whether it is waterproof. After all the cracks have been calked, the dugout is pushed and pulled into the water with the participation of a festive and noisy crowd.

396 Often the boat has to be transported a long distance to
496 its launching site. This may take several days. An umufumu (sorcerer) walks in front, scattering "salutary" powder on the road so as to make sure that the boat will reach the water undamaged. As soon as the boat is launched, the people participating in the celebration sing and dance on both sides of the river. Then a pot of banana beer is covered with river clay and
[782] placed inside the boat; the immediate participants drink from the pot and spit into the river to appease the evil spirits. The clay on the pot is rubbed by the participants on their foreheads and on those of the members of their family as protection against accidents. Then the boat is rowed across the river to the other shore, and the people there go through the same ceremonies. The consecration of the boat is concluded by a dance
[273] of the abafumu (medicine men) and ends in a general drinking bout. (No. 19, p. 66)

396 If after the launching of the boat it is discovered that it lacks buoyancy or equilibrium, corrections are made by further carving with knife or ax or by putting stones inside for ballast. It has already been mentioned (p.73) that the dugouts have neither seats nor rudder. The way they are propelled has also been described.

[83] I have also already discussed the very simple technique (p.31) of making barkcloth (fig. bast felt).

281 The technique for hides and leatherwork is also very simple. The Barundi on rare occasions use a piece of hide as their only garment. Otherwise they mainly use hides as blankets. The Batwa, however, prefer garments of hide to those made of barkcloth; consequently they are the most expert workers in leather (abaharra). However, both the Batwa and the Bahutu use the same technique. If it is merely a matter of firm, hard leather for lids, quivers, binding material for fastening arrowheads, etc., the hide is simply scraped clean and dried in the sun. If, however, soft, flexible leather (urusato) is needed for garments and blankets, it must be tanned. Since in Urundi the method of tanning and tawing is little known, as was originally the case in all other parts of Africa (No. 32a, p. 47), the hide

281 is treated by the method used for making chamois leather.
First of all, the hide is stretched tight on the ground with pegs
all around the edges. With a knife the hair and the particles
of meat and fat still attached to it are scraped off carefully.
When the hide is almost dry, the pegs are removed, it is rubbed
with fat or butter and then beaten thoroughly, piece by piece,
with both hands until it has become smooth and pliable (No. 19,
p. 425). Finally the hide is rubbed with a little white residual
soil (kaolin) so as to give it a nice appearance. Hides to be
used as blankets are treated in the same manner, but the hair
is not removed.

326 In the field of ironwork the performance of the Barundi
177 is good, even excellent. This is really surprising since reportedly
the forging technique was brought to Urundi from the
northeast, probably from Kissaka, at the time of King
Ruganza of Ruands, i.e., approximately 200 years ago. The
art was introduced, it is said, by a legendary person, Kigwe.
[412] Van der Burgt writes me that "before that period wooden hoes
[411] were used for cultivating the soil, and arrows and spears were
made entirely of wood." An old Mutwa told van der Burgt that
in his youth he had seen such wooden utensils himself. According
to my observations such wooden hoes and weapons do not
exist any more. Van der Burgt is mistaken in assuming that
135 the backwardness of the Urundi iron industry can be explained
316 by the fact that there are no iron ore deposits in Urundi (No. 19,
325 p. 250). I found excellent iron (itschjuma) in the form of
limonite and specular iron ore in many places. On the other
hand, I can confirm that the Barundi do not know how to mine
and smelt these local iron ores. In Ruanda I saw smelting
furnaces in full operation, but there are none in Urundi. The
326 Barundi blacksmiths only work iron imported from other areas.
[439] Some of it is imported in the form of hoes from Usindja (southern
part of Lake Victoria) with the help of the Baha and
Bassuwi, and some of it is European iron wire which is brought
into the country by way of Lake Tanganyika. The Bahutu and
Batwa blacksmiths convert this imported iron into the forms of
hoes, knives, chopping knives, spear points, arrowheads, arm

326 rings, etc., which are customary in the country. The Bahutu
and the Batwa use the same technique, but apparently the
Batwa are the more adroit blacksmiths. In Urundi blacksmiths
do not form a special guild, but in some families the craft
is passed on from one generation to the other. Blacksmiths live
[554] with the other Barundi, and because of their craft they are highly
respected. They are professional craftsmen who sell [84] their
merchandise, but as in Ruanda, they often also engage in agri-
culture on the side. [Fig. 17 appears here in the original text.]

325
[348] The work shop (uruganda) is a small round hut, open on
all sides. In its center a hollow in the ground contains the
[372] charcoal fire. Since blacksmiths need charcoal for their craft
and since there are few trees in this country, they mostly have
their huts not far from the remains of forests or the bushes along
[438] the rivers. Charcoal from the peripheral mountains wrapped
in long bundles of banana leaves is sold in the interior. Next to the fireplace there are bellows, either vessel or bowl bellows (umuvuba), shaped like a large, double wooden spoon, over each of whose ends a goatskin is stretched loosely (No. 2 of Plate 45). A wooden stick is tied to the center of each skin; it serves as a piston whose upward and downward movements press the air from the vessel into the end of the pipe. The blower stands or squats behind the bellows holding a piston in each hand which he alternately moves up and down quickly. The same type of bellows is used in Ruanda where it is also used for blowing the smelting furnaces. In Urundi (according to Stuhlmann's small map in No. 32a, p. 62), still another type is said to exist, the tube or bag bellows; yet I have not been able to find out anything about it. The more common vessel bellows just described is carved from a single block of wood and opens into a short, funnel-shaped clay pipe which is placed directly among the hot coals and keeps them glowing. From time to time water is sprinkled on the glowing pile of coal.

[85] On the other side of the fireplace there is a hard stone which serves as an anvil (Fig. 17). The piece of iron which is to be forged is pushed into the glowing coals with a wet, clamp-like piece of wood or with a pointed iron pin, and it is pulled

[Text continues on page 128]

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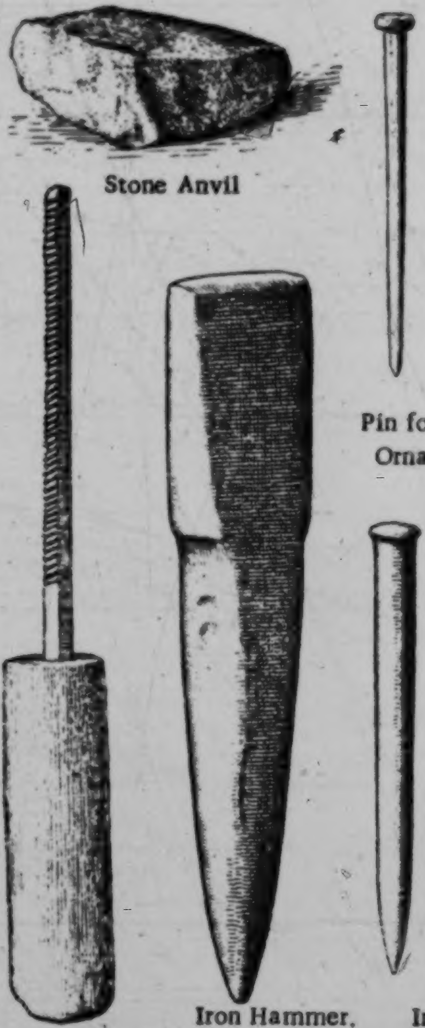

Stone Anvil

Pin for Engraving Ornaments.

File

Iron Hammer.

Iron Bolt for Forging Concave Forms.

Fig. 17.

(All 5 figures in the Ethnological Museum, Berlin, No. 6386.)

325 out with the same instrument. Once on the anvil, the iron
is forged with the hammer (injondo), a heavy piece of iron with
several edges. It has no wooden handle but is elongated on one
end to form a kind of handle so that it may be gripped firmly.
The iron is hammered and intermittently made red-hot until
it has been purified of all dross. Then it is forged with the
325 hammer into the shape of the desired object. For this purpose
412 any of the following auxiliary tools are used: a thick, rounded
pin over whose curved head the glowing piece of iron is
hammered into concave shapes, e.g., bells, sleeves for spear
points, etc.; a short pointed piece of iron with which simple
patterns of dots are engraved in arm rings, chopping knives,
and other objects; an old knife to cut pieces of glowing iron
in two by using it like a wedge and hitting it with the hammer;
a file consisting of a serrated piece of iron with a wooden handle
with which any unevenness is rasped off the forged objects after
they have cooled down; and finally a few hard, smooth stones
for polishing.

I have not been able to ascertain whether the Barundi are
[439] familiar with wiredrawing. They use imported European types
of iron, copper, or brass wire to wind around their bracelets and
knife sheaths.

325 Copper (umurinda) and brass are hardly used at all in
439 Urundi, with the exception of the Tanganyika district where
copper and brass have been imported from the Congo (for instance,
Katanga) for years and are used for many purposes. In
[316] the large interior areas of Urundi no copper ore is mined. The
small amount of copper imported from Tanganyika in the form
of wire is hammered out cold and used for making simple bracelets,
[301] small bells used as dangling ornaments, small pieces of
foil used as inlays for the large wooden arm discs, and other
things. Both in Urundi and Ruanda the casting of iron in molds
is unknown.

[86] Chapter 7

Political Organization, Law, Social Organization, Clans, Totemism

1. War, Monarchy, Feudal System

721 Insofar as there is a historical tradition, the history of the Barundi shows that under the rule of strong and energetic kings this people performed extraordinary warlike deeds which for a long period protected the country from the oppression of black or Arab conquerors (Ruanda, Mirambo, Wangoni [Ngoni]; Rumalisa). It is only in recent decades with the decline of the dynasty and the lack of a great compelling personality that the warlike spirit and comprehensive organization has become weakened, so much so that the German occupation met no special obstacles. The present-day Barundi, i.e., the Batussi, Bahutu, and Batwa, are not inclined to conduct war against an external enemy, in spite of their violent, quarrelsome temperament and their innumerable internal feuds. They are peaceful if they are left in peace.

In the past, too, during the period of their political strength, the Barundi did not conduct big wars for the purpose of expansion and conquest as did the Wangoni and the Wahehe [Hehe]. The usual practice was rather internal guerrilla warfare by one Murundi chief against another and the eternal clan and family feuds within their own country. Matters became serious only when foreign aggressors invaded the country. In such a case there were first several minor attempts to repel the aggressor, and then the entire people finally rose up behind their king and expelled the invader. This happened, for example, to the Arab leader, Rumalisa, and his slave-hunting bands (p. 165 [not translated]).

[648] Our government seldom considers it necessary to intervene to any great extent in the internal feuds and petty wars which still occur frequently. These quarrels are seldom of a very
726 bloody nature. If a chief finds cause to quarrel and complain
[754] against his neighbor, he first seeks to make him give in peacefully by means of "sorcerers." If this method fails, he sends

726 his men against him without any declaration of war. The war
party consists almost exclusively of Bahutu and Batwa. The
Batussi provide a few leaders but in general keep carefully in
the background. The party threatened by aggression is soon
informed of the approaching danger by his friends, and he either
evades it or through his men tries to damage his enemy's property
and possessions. Each seeks to take as many cattle as
possible from the enemy, to injure or kill as many men as
possible, to plunder and burn the homesteads in night attacks, and
to capture the women. Rarely is there an open battle between
the two hostile parties, and seldom more than a dozen persons
are killed [87] in such a war (No. 19, p. 276). The principal
form of conflict, as it was among the heroes of Homer, is to
[754] hurl insults at each other or to use sorcery aimed at hurting or
killing the enemy from a distance. The medicine man protects
[789] his own people through magical charms (stones, pieces of
herbs, or bones, all of which are worn suspended on the body)
from being wounded or bewitched.

726 Of course the efforts and expenditures are greater in the
case of feuds between great chiefs or wars conducted by the king
701 against invading enemies. Until a few years ago the Germans,
too, were regarded as such enemies. In such a case all the
men and youths who are sufficiently strong must take up arms,
[122] while the women, children, and cattle are taken to safe hiding
places. The bodyguard (abagendanji), which every great chief
has even in peace time, is always first on the spot. These are
specially picked men whom the chief keeps on a beef diet and
[714] who are dressed in a kind of uniform, a white leather apron.
Their leader, always a Mutussi, is provided with a special distinctive
shield. Frequently the bodyguard consists entirely of
Batwa. When the war drum is beaten, all the other warriors
[411] assemble quickly. Each is armed with two spears, one bow,
and four or five arrows. In order to frighten the enemy, the
[714] warriors paint their faces, their skulls, and many other parts
of the body with white and red lines, dots, and spirals, using
pulverized clay. They thus manage to present a really fearful
726 sight. Then the medicine men also enters the picture,

726 performing all kinds of sorcery in order to hurt the enemy. The
chief accompanies his troops to the battle field only in really
big wars when it is a matter of survival for the whole state.
[782] Sacrifices to the protective spirits are made on the border stream --
[611] the borders are mostly formed by streams -- poisonous powders
are spread on the paths used by the enemy, the future is read
787 from the entrails of sheep and chickens, and arrangements are
726 made accordingly. If possible, the sorcerer even arranges for
one of the holy cattle (ingabe) to be sent against the enemy.
If it penetrates the enemy's ranks this is regarded as a good
omen to which even the enemy will submit; however, if it
turns back in front of the enemy, it is regarded as a bad omen,
and negotiations for peace are begun (No. 19, p. 277).

If in spite of all this an open battle takes place, one side
will soon take to flight after a few men have been killed or
727 wounded by spears or arrows. The victors then pounce on the
homesteads and burn them, after looting everything of value,
especially the cattle. Upon their return, the women receive
them with jubilant trilled cries. This marks the beginning of a
feast with dancing, drinking, and eating meat, which often
lasts several weeks, as long as the chief provides beer and cattle.
If the enemy chief has been captured, he is usually killed.
721 Peace is hardly ever concluded. Usually a feud between chiefs
is passed on to son and grandchild, according to the unwritten
laws of vendetta. Thus, there is continual strife in the country
unless a stronger hand enforces the peace. Our colonial forces
[648] have had to do this several times and with success whenever there
was a dangerous disturbance of the peace in our colony. Yet,
according to a very wise governmental ordinance, the German
Resident is not permitted to intervene in unimportant internal
conflicts. The same applies to Ruanda where bloody quarrels
occur often enough. For this reason these fights will continue
for a long time, [88] until with the progressive effective occupation
of the country by our troops they die down completely.

642 Until the German occupation, Urundi was a unified kingdom
for many centuries. Of course this is true only with respect to
its historical development and name, for in reality quite a

642 number of the leading men of the country had become more or less independent of the king. As we shall see in the historical survey (p. 166 [not translated]), the government recognized the independence of a few of these chiefs after the death of old King Kisabo. Even there, however, the people still regard the distant king -- who it is true has become almost a phantom for them -- as the supreme authority of the realm in many respects, especially in religious matters.

Theoretically, the king is the absolute ruler of all of
643 Urundi. Whoever does not submit to him is a renegade and a revolutionary. In the last analysis this claim to royal supremacy is founded on the fact that the king is descended from the old ruling family, the Baganwa, and is regarded and revered as an almost divine being. In this capacity he is the head of the national religion and the religious head of the nation, regardless of the personal characteristics of the king who is ruling at any one time. If, in addition to the religious respect which he enjoys, the king is prudent and strong-willed, as the bearer of the "crown" he will have no difficulty in enforcing his claim to be the sole ruler in the whole of Urundi. This is proved by the history of Urundi.

In both Urundi and Ruanda, also in Ufipa (No. 47, p. 29), the official title of the king is umwami, i.e., he who rose to authority. The Urundi king is also referred to as the njen' ingoma, the possessor of the (holy) drum, or as umvijéji, father, master.

644 The person closest to the king is the umufumu w'umwami,
[793] the "house chaplain," high priest. Generally he is a highly intelligent man who in all cases is attached to the semidivine king and who also is the first to advise him in mundane matters.
[791] A "court kiranga," a chief magician or sorcerer, assists the high priest. Among the officials of the court, there are masters of the kitchen, butchers, firewood keepers, stable masters, water suppliers, cow milkers, night watchmen, the bodyguard, and others. As far as political personalities are concerned, there are in the entourage of the king representatives of the great head men, the governors of the provinces, just as at the court of Musinga of Ruanda. Here, as well as in Ruanda, it is often the governors themselves who temporarily or permanently are drawn

644 to the royal court because, due to some suspicion or other, the king wants to have them near him and under his supervision.

635 565 In Urundi these provincial governors are almost without exception members of the royal family (abaganwa) or of one of the kin groups of the high Bahima nobility related to the king by marriage (see pp. 91, 101 also p. 182 of original text [not translated]). However, in the subdistricts of the provinces 634 ordinary Batussi are appointed as government officials (abatware or batwale). Sometimes, especially in the southeast, there are also Bahutu serving as batwale. This office is hereditary within the appointed families, but the king may annul the succession by inheritance of a son after the death of a mutwale. Also, he may appoint a new mutwale any time he pleases (No. 19, p. 267).

631 614 [635] The same organization of officialdom also exists in Ruanda. Similarly, ~~in~~ Ankole the entire country is divided among nine governors or high batwale responsible to the king. There they carry the title Bakungu and are all members of the royal clan, [89] Abahinda. Each Mukungu has several district [634] chiefs under him. However, these are all representatives of Bahima clans and each of them is elected by his clan which means that he is the eldest of the clan. These men have petty jurisdiction over their clan members, while disputes between different clans are decided by the Mukungu. The office of [635] Mukungu is hereditary. (No. 27, p. 98.)

643 614 In Urundi, however, the monarchy is not, or not yet, as well founded as in Ruanda (King Musinga). The cause for this may be found, above all, in the much stronger spirit of independence of the Barundi and in the still very strong clan organization of the Batussi and the Bahutu. However, the kings of Urundi and their powerful kin group, the Baganwa clan, have managed in the last two decades to have almost all the clan elders in the country, who formerly had a free hand, replaced by officials and vassals of the king who back up his absolute power.

643 423 631 As in Ruanda and the other Bahima states, from Unjoro in the north to Ufipa in the south (No. 47, p. 74), all the land, people, and cattle in Urundi belong to the king on the basis of his inherited right as conqueror. He distributes the land among the members of his family and his clan, the Baganwa, as a hereditary fief. He may reclaim it, however, if at any time he is dissatisfied with the holder. These grand vassals or grand batwale again subdivide their territory in many small fiefs among their followers, and these continue the process so that the entire country is covered by a gigantic network of vassals of the king (see p. 171 [not translated]). They are predominantly Batussi, and the lowest among them have approximately the position of a village mayor. The smallest territorial unit of this large administrative organization is the [361] mountain, the plateau ridge (umutumba, umurambi). In the highlands which are cut up by swampy valleys, the mountains bear the settlements, not the valleys. For this reason the boundaries of the provinces and their subdivisions are formed almost everywhere by the stream and river valleys, the most obvious and most effective natural lines of separation between the regions and their inhabitants. However, the large fiefs seldom consist of one continuous stretch of land within a region; almost always they are formed by numerous smaller pieces of territory distributed over various provinces. Thus, the important vassals are prevented from becoming too powerful for the king.

Of course, all vassals are expected to pay a certain amount of tribute to the king. From these the latter meets the expenses of his large household, pays his officials, and conducts his wars. Depending on the duties involved, there are three kinds of feudal tenure. 1) Land fiefs: their holders have to pay regularly a certain share of the produce of their fields to the king. 2) Cattle fiefs: the tenants monthly furnish a certain number of cattle, milk, and butter. 3) War fiefs: the holders must keep ready for action a certain number of warriors who must be placed at the king's disposal upon his command. Sometimes these three types of feudal tenure are combined in one region and in the

643 person of one vassal. This simplifies the administration considerably.
631 Often, however, the vassal is vested with the tenure
423 of the mountain and the Bahutu who live there as his bondsmen,
but he does not receive at the same time all the privileges;
another Mutussi may receive the war fief on the same mountain,
i. e., he may have the duty of assembling the local men in case
of war, or a third Mutussi on this mountain may be in charge
of dividing up the grazing land, etc. [90] The object and result
of this organization is to make each of the holders of these
privileges jealously watch over the others and to insure that the
king keeps the reins of power firmly in his hands.

634 The mutwale who has been vested with a fief is, however,
614 the ruler of the Bahutu and Batwa in his feudal domain. He determines
the work load of his people and has jurisdiction over
ordinary affairs. However, the position of the people under him
is not at all like slavery. They enjoy a considerable amount of
freedom and are entitled to certain privileges. In addition
[628] they always have as support their kin group, their clan, which
can be depended upon to take [illegible]t, bloody revenge for any
real acts of violence on the part of the batwale or any other
person. It is a kind of Vehmic organization which is respected
even by the most powerful Batussi batwale. Also, each Muhutu
is entitled to leave his feudal lord if the latter maltreats him
and to look for a new master. However, since the reputation
[554] and wealth of each Mutussi depends chiefly on how many people
he has, it is in his own interests to see to it that his people do
not leave him as a result of maltreatment.

662 The king always surrounds the high vassals and batwale
with spies in order not to allow them to become too independent.
Beyond that, however, jealousy and envy are powerful motives
for each mutwale to exercise a check on his neighbor. Naturally
intrigue and incrimination are widespread. If a case of disloyalty
687 or high treason is reported to the king and is discovered
to be well-founded, royal justice acts quickly with spear and
poison. Nevertheless, several grand batwale have managed to
631 attain a large degree of independence in the course of time.
This is particularly true of those living in the exposed border

631 districts in the area adjoining Ruanda and Ussuwi. They still
pay a set amount of tribute in natural produce to the king, but
otherwise they may do, or not do, whatever they please unless
they disturb the peace or necessitate the military intervention
of our Resident.

As a rule the king or the princely governor will not make
alternations in the conditions of feudal tenure if the vassal
regularly sends his tribute, keeps his subjects in timorous dependence, promptly contributes the necessary groups of men in
case of war, and remains subservient and loyal to the king.
[624] Finally, in the different villages and hamlets there are communal officials (bisonga) who are responsible to the batwale;
they collect the taxes, arrange for corvée labor, and are in
charge of petty jurisdiction, etc.

645 When discussing important matters, the king, also the
634 provincial governors, and the batwale, are assisted by a state
council or a communal council, respectively. These councils
are appointed by the king or by the governor, as the case may
be, and are chosen from among the most respected and most
prosperous men of the country or of the region. Represented
among them particularly are the clan elders (abagabo). The
council is convened on important occasions, and the king or
the mutwale presides, but in his decisions the king or the mutwale
is not bound by the advice of the council (No. 19, p. 267). The
634 batwale are responsible to the king for everything that happens
641 in their administrative district. They also have almost absolute
power over the Bahutu and Batwa population which they administer. This includes the power of execution. It is true that
subjects suppressed by an unjust mutwale may appeal to the provincial governor or to the king, but they obtain satisfaction only
very seldom, for "the tsar is far away and the sky is high." [91]
643 The absolute ruler, the semidivine king is, of course, always
641 right and has every privilege; he owns all the land and all the
cattle, and he vests with it whomever he chooses, whenever he
chooses, and in amounts that he alone decides, and he may take
any subject's life or property as he pleases.

643 These are the conditions, de jure and de facto, whenever
631 the king is a man of strong will, and there has been a whole

643 series of such kings in Urundi. If the king is a weakling, if he
631 lacks the cunning and the capacity for violence and cruelty to inspire fear, which are the necessary characteristics of African rulers -- as, for example, the present weak King Mutaga -- his absolutism is mere show. Then the real rulers are the heads of the royal family, the Baganwa or Abaganwa, who make the royal puppet dance to their tune. These, then, are times when the various provincial governors make themselves independent, when other parts of the country fall under the rule of foreign neighboring sultans (for example, Ujogoma temporarily under Ussuwi), and when anarchy more or less prevails in the entire realm. Concerning the development of these conditions and the present state of affairs, see the chapter, "History," p. 151 ff. [not translated].

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648 The present impotence of the monarchy, the weakening of central power, and the disruption of the formerly powerful unified realm have been sanctioned by the German colonial government to its own advantage. At the same time the colonial government is attempting to replace gradually the supreme power of the king with the rule of the German Resident. It cannot eliminate the monarchy as such unless it is prepared to take up the fight against all the Batussi. For this our strength is still not sufficient. However, in the future much will depend on what kind of a man from the old ruling dynasty succeeds the present weak puppet king, Mutaga, and what the attitude of our government to him will be.

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662 The succession to the throne is determined by primogeniture in Urundi, unless the king or the head chief decides otherwise. By law he is succeeded by the oldest son of his head wife. Usually, however, the king designates as his successor the one of his many sons who appears most suitable to him, and he bequeathes to him the insignia of royalty, i.e., the holy drum, his spear, and his arm ring. If this decision is made during the lifetime of the king, it is dangerous for the favored son. He will consider it advisable to escape from the jealousy of his brothers and relatives by taking refuge in some distant place until his time comes. If he is still a child, he is hidden by his mother far out of reach

643 of his relatives. However, the young prince who, according
662 to the belief of the Barundi, is destined to be king of Urundi
also lives far from the court. The Barundi believe that this
[787] predestined royal child who has been born of one or another of the wives of the king can be recognized at birth by the fact that he holds in his hands seeds of all the species of produce grown in Urundi. They also believe that because of these revealing signs, the mother with her child flees to the neighboring country until the ruling king has died. A royal prince is regarded as suitable to succeed the king only if he is not yet married when ascending the throne and if his mother is still alive (p. 184 [not translated]). In any case there is a struggle between the various parties when the pretender to the throne returns from abroad after the king's death to lay claim to the succession. This ends with the victory [92] of one party and its pretender. The new ruler is proclaimed king after a ritual act of election (p. 184 [not translated]) by the council of the Baganwa and abafumu [plural of umufumu, sorcerer], and he usually has all his brothers and close relatives killed or sent into safe exile (No. 19, p. 524).

634 Less blood and violence is involved in the succession of the greater and lesser batwale. In this case, too, the father during his lifetime designates one of his sons as his successor by inheritance (or one of his daughter if he has no sons); usually it is the eldest. The king, however, may change the decision in favor of someone else. After the death of the chief, the new mutwale is ceremonially installed in his office by the council. He is given the insignia of the deceased and also the cattle, the wives, and the kraal of his predecessor; in short, he receives all his family property (No. 19, p. 550). He now proceeds to rule his new fiefdom like a sovereign prince, but he has to pay punctually to the king the tribute imposed on him, and he must also fulfill his other feudal duties which are not burdensome. Otherwise, he risks deposition, war, exile, and death.

2. Administration of Justice and Social Conditions

In the families of those Barundi (Batussi, Bahutu, and
428 Batwa) who do not hold an office, the eldest son (or daughter)
of the first wife is the secular and religious principal heir of the
father. He inherits (kuraga) the largest share of the available
family property, while the mother and the other children each
receive equal shares of the remaining property. If the mother
[429] is already dead and the children still small, the eldest son as
the principal heir is expected to provide for them. If a
428 Murundi dies without children and leaves a widow, his brothers
768 divide his property among them, and the widow returns to her
587 family. However, a widow with children becomes the wife of
the brother nearest to the deceased (levirate), and she and her
children remain in the same house as before. The family stays
together until the children are married and set up their own
families (No. 19, p. 285). According to von Langenn, only
sons receive the inheritance; they then support the mother and
sisters. If there are no sons, either the widow or the daughters,
as the case may be, are the heirs.

The eldest son also inherits the religious and professional
428 attributes and skills of his father. If the father was a priest
463 (kiranga), sorcerer, medicine man (umufumu), or blacksmith
868 (umususi), etc., the eldest son becomes -- or remains -- in the
same position or profession by inheriting from his father the
insignia and tools, in addition to the expert training. Thus, certain professions remain the prerogative of certain families. If
the mother is an expert of some sort, she will pass on her skills
to her eldest daughter.

428 If someone dies without leaving a family or relatives, the
mutwale of the district in question inherits the property (No. 19,
p. 568). Since no written laws of any sort exist, all law is
671 customary law, tradition, and usage. Every adult Murundi is
563 familiar with these customs, and if anybody infringes them, it
is regarded as a punishable violation of the law. Even the king
considers himself bound by them in his relations to the Batussi
and only under exceptional circumstances [93] does he disregard

563 the law. The law of the land is, of course, a "master's law"
671 which favors the Batussi in all respects. In contrast, the Bahutu as bondsmen enjoy few privileges, and the Batwa are almost entirely without rights. The Batussi batwale often commit grave violations of the law, especially in their dealings with the Bahutu and Batwa without, however, being held responsible for such infractions. It is only the fear of vendetta that puts a restraint on their arbitrariness.

As is the case among all primitive people, the ethical
577 concepts of the Barundi regarding what is right and wrong are elusive. Questions aimed in this direction either remain unanswered or the reply is simply: "We do not know" or "the headman says so" or "our parents, superiors, the king wish it that way," and similar answers (No. 19, p. 381). One never hears that "conscience" prescribes certain actions or that the ghosts, the manes, or the gods wish it that way. Whatever is said on this subject has probably been suggested by the questioners, especially the missionaries. In contrast, concrete concepts of
671 law are much clearer. They are chiefly based on conditions of ownership and on social conditions, and they define something as right or wrong depending on whether it benefits or impairs these conditions which have become traditional.

As has been mentioned above (p. 91) the king is, in
423 principle, the sole owner of the entire land and fields and of all the cattle in the country. As described above (p. 86), the batwale and the lesser district chiefs -- almost always Batussi -- hold larger or smaller portions of this royal property in feudal tenure, and they, in turn, parcel out smaller portions for the use of those Batussi who are not officials or for the use of the Bahutu. Whatever these latter produce from the fields and from the cattle belongs to them by law as their own property after they have paid their tribute to the feudal lords. The huts and the courtyard which the Murundi has set up on the plot of land left to him are also his property. However, he can be driven from his house and field, for example, if he fails to pay his tribute or if he has committed murder of theft and also if the feudal lord wishes to put someone else in his place, either a

423 person who will pay more tribute or who pleases him for other
reasons (No. 19, p. 469). As a rule, however, families live
on a piece of land for generations and till the soil for their own
benefit and in part for that of their feudal lord. Before the
Batussi era, this land was probably for the most part the prop-
erty of the Bahutu clans (see p. 104). The homesteads inhabited
by the Batussi are usually set somewhat apart from those of the
Bahutu, outside the confines of fields in the grazing land.

The inhabitants own their huts and, in addition, every-
421 thing they keep inside the huts or carry on their person. Thus,
men, women, and children may own property, and the follow-
ing may be items of property: huts, planted trees, produce
still standing in the field or harvested, cattle that have been
raised, furniture, tools, clothing, weapons, ornaments, trade
objects, etc.

685 Property violations, i.e., damage and theft (uwivi), are
674 frequent, but if someone leaves his hut unguarded, a woven
screen in front of the door opening is usually sufficient to keep
away uninvited guests. Although the kraals are surrounded by
[417] strong fences and the paths between the fields are often lined
with high euphorbia hedges (Plate 20), these have not been put
up or grown as a protection against thieves but to pen and re-
strain the cattle. If a person steals something from [94] a
homestead or produce from the fields, he is taken before the
mutwale and is sentenced to severe corporal punishment unless
he can pay a generous amount in damages of which the mutwale
will appropriate one half (No. 4, p. 224).

692 The mutwale or in smaller districts the village chief is
627 the judge who pronounces justice in all cases. Usually the
Batwa take care of their legal disputes among themselves with-
out appealing to their Murundi mutwale, but the Batussi and the
Bahutu take every matter that cannot be settled by the family
council before their mutwale. Usually the plaintiff brings sev-
eral witnesses with him whenever possible, but at the same time
he brings a present for the judge which is not without influence
upon the verdict of the latter (No. 19, p. 472). In most cases
696 the convicted person receives his corporal punishment from the
family members of the plaintiff or from the bodyguard of the
chief if he has one. Concerning the types of punishment, see
p. 97 .

563 554 The second important legal sphere is constituted by social conditions, but first, something about the social stratification. I shall reserve a separate chapter for the relationships within the clan and family (p. 98 , 106). As has already been mentioned, social stratification is determined by the three racial elements of which the Barundi people is composed: Hamitic Batussi, Bantu Bahutu, and the original indigenous population, the Batwa. By the law of conquest, the Batussi form the nobility; the Bahutu are those who are not free, or rather those whose rights are only conditional; and the Batwa are the helots who have no rights. If we disregard the Batwa pariahs, there is no separation of castes closed off from one another, although the priests (kiranga), the sorcerers and medicine men (abafumu), and partly also the religious brotherhoods (ababandwa) enjoy a privileged position on the basis of their magical powers which other persons lack. The professional craftsmen, especially the blacksmiths, also maintain a particularly respected position if they are Batussi or Bahutu, but this does not apply to Batwa. And, as is true everywhere, the [556] rich in Urundi enjoy more respect and influence than the poor.

In spite of the considerable difference in social and legal status and in spite of the arrogance of the Batussi, the latter associate with the Bahutu on a friendly basis in most cases, a relationship similar to that between a master and his useful, docile servant. Even if a Mutussi is a mutwale of the lowest rank or a petty feudal lord, the Muhutu will never forget that in his relations with the former he is dealing with a master. If he should ever forget this, he most certainly would be reminded of his inferior status in a manner which would not be pleasant for him, but the "better situated" Muhutu regards the ordinary non-propertied Mutussi as his equal. At times, although [562] only rarely, there are even marriages between Batussi and Bahutu, yet these are not considered as completely valid (see p. 101 , 149). It is also reported that, as in Ruanda, a Muhutu [557] may be promoted to the privileged class of the Batussi by an act of royal favor.

563 The Batwa, however, stand entirely apart from and below the others. They are not slaves who are forced to render services, but they are regarded as excluded from the society of the others, as outcasts whom the Batussi and the Bahutu despise and detest. They are considered animals, not human beings (No. 19, p. 541). The Batussi and Bahutu do indeed buy all kinds of handicraft products, especially pots, from them and also employ them as medicine men, musicians, and watchmen, but they never enter into closer relationships with them. (In Ruanda it is more likely that exceptions will be made, especially at the royal court.) A Mutussi or a Muhutu will never enter the hut of a Mutwa, he will never eat or drink with him, nor will he use a pot or a garment which has already
[576] been used by a Mutwa. [95] Only one thing is permitted: the Mutwa may greet the Murundi and return his greeting although in a different manner than a Murundi would have done.

576 554 Depending on the social status of the person who tenders a greeting and the person greeted, there are considerable differences between the forms of greeting used among the Barundi. In all cases the greeting is tendered and returned with a certain amount of ceremonial politeness so much so that some observers maintain that greetings are a kind of religious act. Even the words of the stereotyped greeting often suggest a religious connection (see p. 46). It is perhaps for this reason, but even more likely because of the great innate or learned politeness of the Murundi, that each of them would consider it a serious insult if he were not greeted or if his greeting were not returned. Corresponding to the social stratification of the people, we may differentiate three large groups of greetings.

576 643 554 1. Greeting the king. The person greeting the king kneels down, bends toward him, claps his hands in his direction, and calls out: "uganse umwami" (command me, King) or "ugire umwami" (may you enjoy good health, King). The members of the royal family, the Baganwa, who for the most part rule the provinces as head chiefs, are greeted in a similar fashion.

554 576 2. Greeting the batwale who are not of royal blood and the lesser chiefs of communities. The person tendering the greeting bows

554 toward the mutwale and calls out "amahoro umutwale" (Peace,
576 Mutwale) or "mwakeje umutwale" (did you wake up in good health, Mutwale?), whereupon the person addressed simply answers "amahoro" or "mwakeje." Or the person tendering the greeting calls out "turakuje ubwatsi" (we offer you grass) or "sjinde awansi" (conquer your enemies). At the same time the greeter plucks a handful of leaves, straw, or grass and places them at the feet of the king or the mutwale. This is a symbol of submission for the grass or straw is the symbol of the soil and of all that grows on it (No. 14, p. 48; No. 22, p. 254; No. 4, p. 79). The "grass homage" is a widespread custom among the
[171] Hamitic nations of herdsmen and it also plays a ceremonial role among the Galla (A. Werner, "The Galla of East Africa," Journal of the African Society, Vol. 13, p. 275).

576 3. Greetings exchanged between ordinary Barundi. There is an extraordinary number of different types of greeting depending on the time of day, the occasion and the person involved, etc. In this type of greeting, "mwakeje" or "amahoro" is also used as the beginning phrase in most cases, but after that there follows a whole flood of phrases exchanged between the two persons. When taking leave, it is quite customary to call "ibaba" or "akababa" to the other person. These words are also used by the Wanjamwesi (No. 19, p. 529).

The Barundi do not embrace or kiss each other as a form of greeting, but there is a peculiar kind of accolade which is the customary form of greeting among relatives and friends. It is executed in a very ceremonial fashion and is accompanied by many turns of speech (No. 23, 1904, p. 36). If someone meets one of his relatives or a close acquaintance, he first gazes at him for some time without saying anything and then approaches, stretching his folded hands toward the person. The other takes these folded hands between his own and then gently strokes the arms of the person who greeted him. At the same time, the chests and heads of the two approach one another as though they intended to embrace. While these gestures are being made, numerous phrases of greeting are exchanged. The words

576 "ischo, scho, amascho"(cattle, cattle herd) are used frequently and signify that each wishes the other the greatest possible prosperity and happiness, namely, cattle. This is a very characteristic herdsmen's greeting which undoubtedly has been introduced by the Batussi (see p. 46).

431 [96] Giving and receiving presents (isimano, ingawano) play a very important role in social intercourse. This also takes 576 various forms depending on the social status of the donor and recipient and the event which occasioned the present. In Urundi it is an extremely frequent custom to give presents out of friendship, respect, politeness, or as a sign of submission. However, only rarely is the donor unmotivated by selfishness. In most cases he aims at receiving a present in return to which, according to custom, he is in fact entitled. If a present is given to the mutwale, the aim is to secure his favor in official decisions. To discontinue exchanging presents is regarded as a sign of hostility, the rejection of a present is considered a serious insult. The gift to be presented, whether it consists of field produce, pots of honey, goats, jugs of beer, or something else, is placed at the feet of the recipient. At the same time the donor never fails to taste a little of the food presented in order to show that it is neither poisoned nor bewitched. Then the donor makes a solemn speech assuring the other person of his affection and respect and asking him to return these friendly feelings; finally he openly requests a nice return present. This is what custom demands. The recipient of the gift replies in the same solemn manner and in the end promises a return present or has it brought immediately. At the sight of the present the other person frequently breaks into shouts of joy or begins a wild dance. Custom also requires that a little portion of the present be returned at once to the donor. This, of course, considerably [563] facilitates the giving of presents (No. 19, p. 87). The Batwa among themselves also practice these customs connected with the giving of present, but to their Barundi chiefs they may only present pots, iron tools, weapons, tobacco pipes, or firewood, and, under no circumstances, beer, honey, or other foodstuffs since a Murundi would never eat food given to him by a pariah.

357 567 The domestic bondsmen, the servants, are an important element in the social structure and the economic life. Neither in Urundi nor in Ruanda does slavery exist -- or rather, it no longer exists. In fact, the Batussi do not need slaves for the Bahutu are all bondsmen of the Batussi rulers and provide all the services that are required of slaves in other parts of East Africa. On the other hand, until the turn of the century, there existed quite a brisk slave trade out of Urundi to other areas. This was carried on under the influence of the Arabs and the coastal dwellers, with the Wawira, Bassuwi, Wassumbwa, and Wanjamwesi acting as middlemen. Not only did the Barundi sell their countrymen as slaves, in particular the women and girls, but also orphans were sold by their relatives, and even children by their own parents (No. 19, p. 212). The purchase price was paid in salt, pearls, and iron hoes. Pretty Batussi girls fetched the highest prices and were destined for the harems of the Arabs, prosperous coast Negroes, or the Wanjamwesi. As recently as 1900 there were public slave auctions in Uha (Heru) and in Usâmbiro. Mainly slaves from Ruanda (Kissaka) and Urundi were sold there. A witness wrote at that time: "All the roads are full of slave trains, almost all of them women and girls. Eight out of ten female slaves perish, for these children of the mountains only rarely survive in a different climate" (No. 14, 1900, p. 178). At present, as the German occupation progresses, these atrocities have been stopped, and only rarely and under the cloak of secrecy is a girl or a child from Urundi sold into slavery in the neighboring areas.

357 597 592 [97] In Urundi itself, however, in the households of many influential families, especially of the Batussi, there are, instead of the domestic slaves, bond servants or maids (abaschumwi). Although they are personally free, they have to work for the master and receive only room and board in exchange. They get their jobs by a kind of adoption; someone who has no relatives or who, for some reason or other, wants to leave his family will offer his permanent services to a prosperous Murundi or to a mutwale. The latter takes him into his home and treats him

357 like a member of the family (No. 19, p. 13). The adopted
597 person does the work around the house, tends the cattle, and
592 tills the fields, but he cannot acquire any property. If he
wishes to give up his job and offer his services to another master,
he may do so at any time, but the former master has so many
indirect means at his disposal to force the servant to stay that
most of those who have themselves adopted spend the rest of
their lives with the same master.

592 Thus, the circle of dependents or retainers of any prosper-
554 ous and influential Murundi consists of these domestic servants,
573 of impoverished relatives and parasitic friends, fortune-hunting
flatterers, and economic and political dependents of all sorts.
Every day they pay homage to him in his kraal and accompany
him wherever he goes. The greater the master's reputation, the
larger is his entourage. It is rare that one sees a Mutussi of high
status walking with an entourage of less than a dozen persons and
often with as many as 20 to 30. In Urundi the entourage is
called mafuatano; in Ruanda where the same institution exists
it is referred to as bagaragu.

681 Debt slavery does not exist in Urundi. The Barundi, how-
[567] ever, have a great variety of very drastic punishments (ikihano)
for violations of the law causing damage to life, limb, and prop-
erty. In most cases the guilty party or his relatives or clan may
atone for the misdemeanor or crime by a smaller or larger pay-
ment in the form of produce, cattle, salt, pearls, iron, etc.
The amount is determined by the mutwale who acts as the judge
(p. 94). If it is a case of a serious crime, manslaughter, murder,
628 or a serious injury, the kin group or clan vendetta (see p. 105)
672 becomes operative; this is done with the cooperation of the au-
681 thorities. The injured party or, if he has been killed, his kin
group attempts to seize the wrongdoer by any means at their dis-
posal. If the latter takes refuge in a neighboring province beyond
the avenging arm of the injured kin group, an attempt will be
made to catch one or several of his wives, children, brothers or
sisters, close relatives, or members of his clan in his place. The
captive is bound and locked up until his family obtains his freedom
by paying a large amount of ransom money. This is forthcoming

628 672 681 in most cases. However, if the ransom is not paid, the members of the injured group, with the consent of the mutwale, proceed to execute the victim. They take the captive to a remote place and first cut off his hands, then his feet, and eventually also the ears, nose, and tongue. Then the unfortunate victim is nailed to the ground by piercing four poles through his arms and thighs; there he finally receives the death blow through his chest (No. 19, p. 472). Another method of execution is to drive a sharp pole through his anus into his body up to his throat. The body is then exhibited in a public place. The vendetta takes similar forms among the other Bahima, down to the far south in Ufipa (No. 47, pp. 108-111). Stealing cattle and witchcraft are punished in the same cruel manner in Urundi.

762 [98] Persons intending to commit suicide, who are not by any means rare either in Urundi or Ruanda, usually kill themselves by hanging or drowning.

695 It appears that the oath (indahiro), the invocation of the deity, the manes, or the king for the purpose of affirming a statement, is not permitted as a legal device among the Barundi who, incidentally, "use oaths, curses, sorcery, lies, or trickery" copiously. On the other hand, a judge frequently inflicts the ordeal on the accused, especially if it is a case where he has charged with witchcraft and sorcery (No. 19, p. 405). Most often this takes the form of the spear test. It consists of stabbing the accused person's arm with a hot spear point. If the blood gushes out, he is judged guilty; if not, he is considered innocent. The water test is applied by making the accused place his hand into a pot of boiling water. If his hand is scalded, he is considered guilty, otherwise, not. Also, under certain conditions, the poison test is used, a custom found all over Africa. Of course, there exist all kinds of methods designed to make the ordeal come out correctly, like greasing or powdering one's skin, using counter-poisons, etc.

3. Clans, Exogamy, Totemism

614 In addition to the social stratification resulting from the different ethnic strata of the population with the Bahima conquerors, Batussi, as the upper class, there is in the entire interlacustrine region a subordinate social structure determined by kin groups or clans consisting of blood relatives. Depending on their nature, there are clans of Batussi, of Bahutu, and of Batwa. As a group of families related by blood, the clan is the basis of the entire social organization of both Ruanda and of Urundi, and also of Karagwe, Kisiba, Ankole, etc., while the political state is organized on the feudal system. Unfortunately, we 614 114 know very little about the clans of the Barundi since my predecessors have given little attention to this institution and since the natives are reluctant to give information about these conditions, [551] more from fear of the evil results of mentioning names than from their religious concepts (see p. 111, 112). These things are much clearer in Ruanda where Czekanowski, assisted by the missionaries and Christianized natives, was able to obtain much interesting information about the clan structure (No. 48, Chap. 11). What I am able to convey below I owe -- except for my own findings in the field -- to information received from Capt. von Langenn-Steinkeller and Father van der Burgt.

"In his Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi, van der Burgt refers to a few privileged Batussi families from whom the kings customarily choose their wives (see pp. 99 , 101 , also p. 182 of original text [not translated]), but he fails to mention anything about an organization of the entire population into clans which is of decisive legal, social, and political importance. In reply to my direct inquiry, Father van der Burgt sent me the following information: "Formerly I held the belief for a long time that no clan organization at all existed in Urundi. Both in Unjamwesi and in Kisiba (No. 31, p. 5) one always hears people speak of their luganda (families, cognatio) and their kisse (pl., visse), i.e., clan; for example, whenever one asks a woman for her name, she first gives the name of her clan, e.g., "I am a Magana" or a "Njamurega" or a "Kundwa," etc. In central

614 Urundi, however, I only once heard a woman say that she was
114 a Magana. Thus, I would say that clan organization is not as pronounced in Urundi as it is in Unjamwesi, Ussuwi, Kisiba, etc. In Kirundi I am not familiar with a word like the Usâmbiro "kisse" [99] but the Warundi often speak of their "umurjango" which also means kin group, clan. However, in Ruanda clan organization seems to be well developed. In northern Urundi (Mariensee Mission) where there are many Wanjakissaka immigrants, they often speak of their clans, but this does not apply to the Warundi who live there.

"Whether there are few or many such clans in Urundi I do not know. I discovered the names listed below, but I cannot guarantee that they are genuine Urundi clan names. I rather think that they originate from the periphery of the country: Wajango, Wamagana, Wassindi, Waschambo, Wasinga, Wajambo (Wanjambo), Wasigawa (Wasigaba), and others. Incidentally, although the population is divided into clans, the members live all over the area without rule or restraint, i.e., not localized."

Van der Burgt further lists (see p. 183 [not translated]) the Wakundo, Warwanda (Wawanda, Babanda?), Wenengwe, Wanjakarama, Wasigaba, and Waterwa (Watoirwa?) as the families closest to the royal family. On the other hand, Capt. v. Langenn informs me that the Batussi families of the highest rank are the Banjakarama, Benengwe, Banjakissaka, Baschunguka, and Boschoka, after which there follows a second series of families, also very distinguished, the Bawanda, Bahondogo, Bassawu, Bawejuru, Baschama, Bega, Bawankundu, Babile, Basindakire, and others. A few of these family names, like the Bega, the Bawanda, the Bakundo, and the Baschama, were repeatedly mentioned to me in Urundi, and in addition the Baschambo, Basito, Bagessera, Bakango, Balenge, Baransi, Balesi, Bakono, Basseke, Bassabu, Bajosi, and Barire.

If we compare these names with the family names listed by Czekanowski in his clan tables from Unjoro, Toro, Ankole, Mpororó, Kjamtwara, Kisiba, and Ruanda (No. 48, pp. 41, 88, 233-251) and with those mentioned by Kandt, van der Burgt, van Thiel, 614 114 Stuhlmann, P. Schumacher, Meldon, Roscoe, Rehse, and others, we rediscover over half of the Barundi names also in these lands, especially in Ruanda. This indicates the direction of the closest relationship to the Barundi families. According to legend, the Basinga, Bagessera, and Basigaba are the oldest kin groups there (see p. 153 [not translated]). Probably these clans of Urundi and the northern Bahima states which have the same name are mere offshoots of one original clan which split up as the result of a large increase in numbers or from being harrassed by war and spread over the area by migration. Throughout Urundi, Ruanda, and the northern areas of the interlacustrine region, the Bawanda, Bega, Bakango, Baschambo, Bagaia, Basindi, Basinga, Basito, Bajango, Basigaba, Bajubu, and others are most widely dispersed, while the Bahondogo, Bassabu, Baschunguka, Babile, Basindakire, Barire, and Basseke seem to be restricted to Urundi, although future investigators may discover them in other areas. Perhaps their blood relatives and namesakes may be found father south and west, rather than in the north.

614 The majority of the clans listed above are those of the Batussi, but the Bamagana, Bajango, Basseke, Basjubu, Barire, and others are Bahutu. In addition to this, there are numerous Batwa clans whose names, however, I was unable to ascertain. Some clan names refer both to Batussi and to Bahutu clans. In fact, a few, as, for example, the Bagessera and Basinga, even refer to Batussi, Bahutu, and Batwa clans. It appears that the type of clan structure, the internal organization and the hierarchy of the clans, their social role, and their mutual legal relationships among the Batussi differ essentially in only a few characteristics from those of the Bahutu and the Batwa, namely, in those institutions and rules whose aim is to keep the Batussi blood pure and to maintain the exclusive position of their race and thus its authority. [100] Remnants of earlier endogamy still exist among them (see p. 101), while otherwise the clans are strictly exogamous. Probably the Batussi adopted the clan organization of the older ethnic elements in Urundi, just as they adopted many

614 other customs and institutions from them. However, the Batussi have contributed to a considerable extent in further reducing the importance of the old clan system. For the stronger the monarchy became and the more power and privileges the batwale who had been appointed by the king and the independent Batussi chiefs demanded and enjoyed, the less they could tolerate the continued existence of the authority of the former clan heads or clan elders and the more they suppressed and reduced the clan privileges still existing and replaced them by the administrative organization of the growing Batussi feudal state. In Ruanda, which is under strict monarchical rule, the activity of the clans in law and social affairs has been to a greater extent suppressed and restricted. Even in Urundi where the monarchy is not as strong and the state is more differentiated, the clans have had to hand over to the king and to the chiefs most of their former privileges, and they have lost their solidarity. In spite of all this, the clans continue to exist as a natural organization of the people alongside the artificial one of the state. Not only have they preserved in their organization and customs quite a number of traditions from earlier times, but they also carry on many activities stemming from their organization which have general social significance and effects. This is true particularly of functions relating to family law.

The chief characteristics of clan organization have remained the same as in earlier times: the patriarchal nature of the organization; the exogamy of the clans among each other; the totemistic peculiarity of each clan and, connected with this, the injunctions and taboos (abasiru) affecting the members, especially food taboos. These clearly separate the clans from each other. Further, there is the communalism of the clan members and the protection of the members of the kin group by their clan, by vendetta if necessary. Even under Batussi rule, this acts as a restraining influence against acts of violence by Batussi officials.

Let us briefly review the chief points as they were sketched by Czekanowski for Ruanda. Each clan recruits its members by

614 patriarchate, by patrilineal succession; each child belongs to the clan (umurjango) of its father from the day of its birth. Strangers may join the clan only in exceptional cases, but they do not enjoy full privileges. The greater the number of male members of the kin group, the stronger the clan is in its internal and external functions, the better will it protect and benefit the individual. This accounts for the fervent wish of each father of a family to have as many sons as possible and to bring them into his clan.

Marriages between the members of the same clan are forbidden. A clan member may choose his wife only from another clan. Strict exogamy is thus the rule. C. Meinhof traces the origin of this custom, which is particularly pronounced among the African Hamitic herdsmen, back to the fact that originally the wife belonged not just to a single man but rather to the whole kin group, to all clan associates of the man in common. In other words, the whole of the man's clan married the woman, and for this reason she had to be from another clan (No. 41, p. 84). Clear remnants of this kind of group marriage still persist among many of these Hamitic tribes and also among the Massai; it is customary for a husband to put his wife at the disposal of any clan member during the time of the latter's visit. [101] Also, the married wives are so easily accessible to the men of their clan that prostitution is almost nonexistent among these tribes. The concept of adultery is meaningful only with regard to illicit intercourse outside the clan. To a limited degree this is also true of the exogamous marriages of the Barundi (see
563 p. 107). A member of a Batussi clan never enters into a com-
614 pletely valid marriage with a member of a Bahutu or a Batwa clan, and there never occur wholly valid mixed marriages between members of Bahutu and Batwa clans. The racial distinctions among the three large population groups are stronger than the rules regarding exogamy. It is true that Batussi may frequently be found in Bahutu clans and Bahutu in Batussi clans, but these are either offspring from concubinage with Bahutu women or from other liaisons with inferiors through special circumstances, and they are not regarded as fully valid clan members.

614 It appears, however, that the exogamy of the clans is not entirely unrestricted. It seems that members of a Batussi clan cannot enter into marriage with the members of all other Batussi clans, nor can the members of a Bahutu clan marry the members of any other Bahutu clan. It seems rather that the member of a clan is restricted in his choice of a wife or husband to a certain number of other clans, most probably to those having the same totem (umusiru). As among other peoples practicing totemistic exogamy, marriages may originally have taken place between old totemic cult groups founded upon animistic concepts (No. 43, p. 162). It appears that in this case also marriages are restricted to clans which have the same totem or belong to totem groups which entertain friendly relations with each other. Among other East African tribes, for example, among the Wagogo [Gogo], Wahehe, Bafipa, Banjoro, and Baganda, marriage is at least not excluded if the partners have the same totem (No. 49, p. 164). In any case it is not the identity of the totem but only the membership in the same kin group, i.e., consanguinity, which is the determining element in exogamy. Evidently exogamous and totemic groups have different origins even where they coincide (No. 49, p. 166).

In the rest of East Africa exogamous, totemic clans exist
614 among the Sulu [Zulu] (No. 30, Vol. II, p. 380), the Wangoni
171 (395), Wagogo (402), Wahehe (404), Waheia [Haya] (406), Wayao [Yao], Makua, Makonde (406), Massai (408), Watakomba (420), Nandi, Suk, Turkana, Karamojo, Kamasia [Kamasya] (426), Wakawirondo [Kavirondo] (448), Basoga (457), Baganda (472), Banjoro (513), Batoro [Toro] (531), Banjankole (535), Galla (540), Basiba (No. 31, pp. 5-6), Bafipa (No. 47, pp. 131-135), Wakamba [Kamba], Wataweta [Taveta], Wakikuyu [Kikuyu], Wabena [Bena], Wanjamwesi, Wasukuma, [Sukuma], Wasango [Sango], Wawemba, and others (No. 49, pp. 122-124). If among these tribes the clans are not exogamous -- as among the Wahehe and the Massai -- the subclans into which the clans are divided practice exogamy. Often there are four clans and

614 almost everywhere the totem is called musiro or umusiru (pl.,
171 abasiru).

In Urundi only the royal kin group, the Baganwa clan, is
614 not strictly bound by the rules of exogamy. Its members may
643 marry members of other clans of the high Batussi nobility
(exogamy), or they may marry other Baganwa (endogamy).
The king of Urundi himself always practices exogamy and
marries into one of the four (or six?) highest clans (pp. 99,
also p. 182 of original text [not translated]). Under exceptional circumstances the king in both Urundi and Ruanda may,
or must, as the case may be marry even his own sister or
daughter (see p. 182 [not translated]).

Among the Bahima of Ankole, Unjoro, Ufipa, among
614 the Baganda and the Galla or Oromo, the kings and princes
643 of royal blood may practice endogamy within the royal kin
171 group and may even marry their own sisters while all the
other clans are exogamous (No. 30, Vol. II, pp. 523, 538,
541; No. 27, p. 105; No. 47, pp. 49, 132; Emin Bey,
Petermanns Mitteilungen [Petermann's Communications], 1879,
p. 120).

[102] As an extreme form of endogamy, marriage with a sister is practiced in East Africa only in cases of emergency when the ruling dynasty is unable to preserve the purity of its blood by any other connection. It probably is or was practiced by the ruling families of other peoples past and present only if the dynasty, as, for example, the Bahima, came either as peaceful immigrants or as conquering invaders and originally formed an alien element which excluded any miscegenation with the subjugated group (No. 43, p. 150).

From the fact that there are always several clans with the
614 same totem it may be concluded that these clans originally belonged to the same tribe which later split into two or more kin groups and clans as a result of growth while nevertheless keeping

614 the common totem. After separating, the clans took different names. Among the Bahima and Bahutu of East Africa, unlike the North American Indians, the totem name was not used as the name of the clan itself, but rather, as among the Australian aborigines, the names of the clan and the totem are different. However, the totem cult and its membership have been preserved even though in diluted form (cf. No. 43, pp. 142-143). In a few individual cases the names of the kin groups are identical with that of their totem, as among the Basoga, Basiba, and Banjoro, while the kin groups of the Baganda are named, without exception, after their totem (No. 49, p. 155).

Both in Urundi and in Ruanda the totem (umusiru) is still the cult object of the clan or the clan group, even if only in a passive or negative sense, in that everything connected with the totem must be strictly avoided by its clan. There is no active cult devoted to the totem either among the Barundi or among any other Bahima people (cf. also No. 47, pp. 133, 134 and No. 49, pp. 145, 147). Sacrificial offerings are occasionally made to them but that is all. Among most Rundi clans the totem is an animal or part of an animal. Much more rarely it is an object, as, for example, the small pillow with which burdens are carried on the head or the basket in which sweet potatoes are stored, even more rarely plants or parts of plants, flowers, and stones. The definite predominance of animal
614 totemism is probably related, as among all peoples organized
775 by totems, to the idea that the totem animal was originally
171 considered the "ancestral animal." Among the Barundi and Banjaruanda, however, this does not appear to indicate that the particular species of animals is regarded as the founder of the race or the tribal ancestor or ancestress of the particular clan, but rather that the soul of each clan member after his death enters an animal of this particular type. Evidently the belief in a relationship between the human kin group and the totem animal species does not include the concept of common descent from the same ancestral animal. Whenever a member of the kin group dies, this relationship is renewed by his soul entering an

614 animal of his totem species. In Central Africa many tribes of
775 the northern Congo basin and of the western Sudan (No. 49,
171 pp. 140-142) have the same belief.

614 Van der Burgt believes that the royal family of the Barundi has no totem (letter). According to other reports, however, their totem animal is probably the large python (see p. 118) which is also the "soul animal" of the kings; this also applies to the Basiba (No. 31, pp. 107, 130) and to the Baganda (No. 30, Vol. II, p. 500). According to the belief of the Banjankole, the souls of the kings enter into lions, those of the princes into snakes (No. 26, p. 151; No. 27, p. 102); among the Banjaruanda the souls of the kings enter into leopards."

[103] Thus, the belief in a relationship between clan members and the totem animal is one of the roots of totemism; the other is the same kind of animism that gives rise to awe and fear of the spirit of a dead person living in an animal or some other object and, in connection with this, brings about the cult of ancestors (cf. No. 49, p. 169). For this reason the totem animals are identical with the "soul animals" which are generally assumed to be the residence of human souls (see p. 118). In this case, too, these are characteristically animals, those which excel in great speed and agility and, thus, are suggestive of the vital breath, as, for example, the snake, lizard, certain fish and birds, the otter, weasel, duikerbok, long-tailed monkey, or those animals which have a sinister appearance or other terrifying characteristics, as, for example, the chameleon, the insect walking stick, leopard, buffalo, and hippopotamus. However, certain kinds of domestic animals, for example, black, white striped, or otherwise mottled cows or certain varieties of sheep may be chosen as totem animals by many clans. The veneration of cattle, which are neither used for work nor ordinarily butchered, would indicate that they were formerly the cult animal of the Bahima herdsmen, which to some extent is still true today. Some clans designate only liver, heart, and intestines of certain animals as totems. This custom is also found among many other Bahima and Bantu tribes. This is

614 probably done for a variety of reasons: partly because the original clan split up into several totem groups; partly because these organs of the animal body are most often regarded as containing the soul; partly for the practical reason of not wishing to forego the enjoyment of eating the meat of the *entire* animal. For a clan of herdsmen, it would have been impossible to select only cattle as their totem like, for instance, the hyena or the chameleon since the clan would have had to go hungry because of the taboo imposed by its totem.

614 For the clan member his clan totem, his *umusiru*, is 784 an object of awe. It either inspires veneration as a member of an earlier generation of his kin group or it causes revulsion 262 for other reasons. It is *taboo* to him, either because he regards it as sacrosanct due to its superior characteristics or because he regards it as impure due to its disagreeable characteristics. In their effect on the attitude of the clan member, these two emotions are the same. The *umusiru* is carefully avoided. Any injury or, what is worse, killing of a totem animal, any contact with or occupation connected with the totem or a part of the totem is considered an offense of which it is difficult to purge oneself. Eating its meat or drinking its blood or milk is prohibited. Out of this strict *food taboo*, there developed the now predominant attitude that meat, blood, milk, and other parts of an animal are impure and injurious to the health of the clan member. The impurity can only be eliminated by [783] means of elaborate ceremonies, and the *umufumu* (medicine man) determines the amount of the penance which depends on the seriousness of the case. Moreover, violations of the totem taboo, particularly of the food taboo, are automatically and magically punished by illness or even death for the offender (cf. No. 49, pp. 152, 153).

Since the members of *other* clans eat the meat of the totem animal of one clan, they are regarded as impure by this clan. Thus, the food taboos erect barriers between clans with different totems. For example, [104] if members of the clan of the Bawanda (Babanda), whose totem is the duikerbok, find

614 themselves together with members of the Baschama clan (totem
784 Klipdas or of the Bagessera clan (totem water wagtail), they
262 avoid physical contact with them and are not allowed to take their meals with them. The same is true in Ruanda. Moreover, the general prohibition against the Batussi eating with the Bahutu and the Batwa and against the Bahutu eating with the Batwa has totemistic bases aside from the racially determined caste spirit, if only because some Bahutu and Batwa occasionally eat goat meat and mutton which the Batussi abhor. Both in Urundi and Ruanda these totemistic food taboos do not affect the children (No. 48, p. 240), but women are bound by them.

614 B. Ankermann does not commit himself on the question
-174 of the age and origin of totemism in Africa, but he suggests that the Hamites might be regarded as the carriers of totemism.
563 In many tribes a nontotemistic lower class is ruled by a totemistic -- and Hamitic -- upper class. In Urundi and Ruanda both the lower class, the Bantu (Bahutu), and the ruling Hamitic upper class, the Batussi, are totemistic. Even the pygmoid indigenous inhabitants, the Batwa, are organized into totemistic, exogamous clans. For this reason and for others having to do with the fact that totemic culture is everywhere manifestly very ancient, I should prefer (as regards the Barundi and Banjaruanda) to subscribe to the view which Ankermann considers more probable, namely that the original Negroes from whom the Sudan Negroes and the Bantu originate, were totemistic (No. 49, pp. 176-178), and that where totemistic Negroes are ruled over by totemistic Hamites, as in Urundi and Ruanda, the Hamites have blended their own totemism which they brought with them with that of the conquered, just as they must have blended their own clan organization with that of the conquered Bantu (see p. 100).

614 In the internal organization and life of the clan the
621 strong feeling of solidarity among its members is evidenced above all by the considerable degree of communalism.

614 Wherever monarchy with its state organization has not yet
621 dissolved the clans and dispersed their members all over the
various feudal districts of the Batussi state (see p. 89), wherever the clans have preserved the main elements of their ancient solidarity and autonomy, as is the case particularly in the more or less independent border provinces of Urundi (and Ruanda), the clans form small or large communities under an elected clan elder (umugabo). This is especially true of
614 the Bahutu clans that existed in the area before the period of
423 Batussi rule. The office of the umugabo is hereditary in
621 many cases. The central communalistic element in the organization of these clans is the communal ownership of the land occupied by the clan. The land belongs to the clan community probably because it was originally appropriated and cultivated by the clan. The individual clan members is merely entitled to the use of the land he cultivates or of the pasture where his cattle grazes. Only the hut built on this ground is the real property of the individual, in addition to the inventory of implements, tools, weapons, and the cattle he has raised from the herd with which he has been vested by his feudal lord (see p. 93).

614 E. Johanssen, a missionary who in 1907 founded the first
182 Protestant missionary stations of Dsinga and Kirinda in Ruanda
and who is an eminent student of the Banjaruanda, makes the
[114] following comment on the social importance of the Ruanda clans: "These kin group organizations hand down the old customs and traditions from one generation to the next. In this way they preserve the national characteristics against intermixture and decay. The easier it is to loosen the ties of the family group in its narrowly defined sense as a result of polygamy and by the dissolution of marriage, the greater is the [105] importance of the stable, indissoluble, religiously determined kin group. The destruction of this group would cause the entire nation to disintegrate and to split up into isolated groups which would be exposed to any outside influence. There can be no doubt that the kin group, as the

614 vehicle of tradition and religious customs (totem, food taboos,
182 sacrificial community), has been of great importance in sustaining
the nation's life." (No. 39, p. 73.) This characterization
also applies to the clans of the Barundi.

However, the Batussi monarchy is a most powerful enemy
614 of the clan organization. The growing power of the Batussi kings
642 has laid claim, as has been shown above, to all the land and
182 cattle as the personal property of the king who parcels it out in
larger or smaller portions as fiefs to his Batussi followers (see p. 89). The king's vassal, in turn, divides his fief into smaller portions with which he vests his people. The former clan elder is usually appointed mutwale of the king and collects the taxes and other tribute of which he retains a share. Under the conquering kings the clan has thus been disrupted socially and economically and has been rather quickly absorbed into the political feudal community of the state, although it may still retain its clan name, its old customs, some of its institutions, and its totem for a long time to come.

There is one element of the old clan organization which
642 the clan members have retained even under the political re-
614 organization of the Batussi monarchy since it offers them a
628 strong protection against arbitrary acts of their rulers: it is
182 the vendetta (kuhora). Originally, allied clans used it as the most effective way to protect themselves when they were threatened by other clans. Even at the present time the vendetta is the strongest bulwark for the protection of the individual in spite of the fact that public and private security has considerably increased under the strong rule of the royal batwale. Despite criminal jurisdiction administered by the batwale, the vendetta is still used by the clan members as the most effective form of self-help and as a protective instrument of intimidation on the part of those who are politically weak. A person who kills or injures a member of a clan is killed or wounded by the members of the wronged clan (see p. 97). If the wrongdoer cannot be apprehended, the vendetta will strike another member of the criminal's clan. Indeed, more than that, some clans

642 may not be satisfied by equal retribution but avenge the loss
614 of one of their members by killing two or more members of the
opposite clan. In former times this created a permanent state
628 of war within the nation, no large-scale political community
182 could develop, and the resistance of the Barundi against external aggression was extremely weakened. The same was true of Ruanda (No. 48, p. 238). It was only the strong monarchy of the Batussi which, in its own interest, put an end to this permanent civil guerrilla warfare. However, now the clans use the vendetta for the protection of their members under the cover of *secrecy*. The former open guerrilla warfare has turned into insidious murder against which even the most powerful Batussi *mutwale* is not secure if he is guilty of bloody acts of violence against some clan. The effect of this avenging popular justice and the manner in which it is regarded by the people are reminiscent of our *Vehmgericht* of medieval times, although they are both quite different in other respects.

[106] Chapter 8

Marriage, Birth, Death

1. Contracting Marriage, Wife, Children

582 In most cases the Barundi are married (*kurongora*) at quite
an early age: the men as soon as they can pay the bride price;
the girls often at the age of twelve or even younger if they are
[589] nubile. It is very rare that a man voluntarily remains a bachelor.
If someone marries late, the only reason is that he is unable
to raise the bride price, i. e., the purchase price of a wife.
Marriages are exogamous; there are no cases of marriage within
583 the same clan (see p. 100). Bride stealing is unknown as a
685 marriage custom. If, under exceptional circumstances, it does
occur it is treated as a case of common theft (No. 19, p. 358).
595 Concubinage is practiced particularly in the case when the son
of a *mutwale* or a chief has to wait for a girl of equal rank to

595 reach a marriageable age, and the girl has been chosen as his marriage partner by his parents; he will then take a concubine from a lower class for the waiting period. However, in most cases, the parents give their sons free choice.

584 When a young man takes a liking to a girl, he first proposes marriage to her without asking anyone else. If she accepts, the young man asks his parents to pay the "bride price." When the parents have given their consent, the suitor sends a matchmaker to the parents of the girl or, if her parents have died, to her closest relatives. If the father or, if he is dead, the mother refuses or explains that the girl has already been promised to someone else, the matter is considered closed, and the two lovers have to give each other up. If, contrary to
836 the orders of the parents, they engage in extramarital intercourse, the girl will, in most cases, receive corporal punishment. If she should become pregnant, she is placed completely outside the social pale, for by her behavior she has cheated her parents of the purchase price, and she has also deprived other girls of the opportunity of being asked for in marriage in her place.

583 However, when a girl's father or mother, as the case may be, accepts the suitor's proposal, the matchmaker has to negotiate the purchase price (inkwano) for the bride. This fluctuates depending on the individual, the position of and the property owned by the bridegroom and the bride. Among the large class of the unpropertied, a few strings of small pearls and a few pots of pombe beer are considered sufficient. Among more prosperous groups the bride costs, besides beer and pearls, one or more goats and sometimes even one or two head of cattle (No. 4, p. 221). Among the families of the rich and powerful, that is, the Baganwa, a bride may seldom be had for [107] less than 10 to 15 head of cattle. A bride can also be purchased by paying a part of the agreed price. In this case the young husband becomes security for the rest of the money but does not need to pay it if the marriage is annulled.

585 The objects constituting the agreed purchase price are sent to the bride's parents by the bridegroom through the matchmaker.

585 As soon as they have been delivered, the bride follows the matchmaker to the newly-built hut of the bridegroom. There the wedding is duly celebrated; the family members give presents to each other, eat and drink, and dance. Through her marriage the wife becomes part of the husband's family (patriarchate). On her wedding day the bride is expected to feign great sorrow; she covers her head with a veil, and the bridegroom must try to assuage her grief by giving her presents. For seven days the young couple remain unseen in their hut, but even on the following days the wife covers her head with a veil whenever she goes out of the house (No. 4, p. 222; No. 19, p. 359).

Great value is placed on the bride's virginity. If the sleeping mat of the young wife shows traces of blood after the wedding night, the young husband gratefully sends this proof to his wife's parents and adds a hoe as a present.

There are quite a number of obstacles to marriage. 582 Above all lineal and collateral blood relatives, members of the same clan or of the same totem group, are not allowed to marry each other; exogamy is the supreme rule (see p. 160).

582 Even among the Batwa of Urundi marriage between close 563 relatives is not permitted. Marriage between a Muhutu and a Mutussi woman is not permitted, or it is possible only by royal permission in exceptional cases. The racial pride of the Batussi repudiate such a union. Even where toleration is the 836 rule, sexual intercourse between unmarried members of the same race is probably rare since Barundi mothers keep a watchful eye on their adolescent daughters. It may safely be said that the Barundi do not permit pre-marital freedom on principle.

The husband expects marital fidelity, unless he purposely 837 surrenders his wife to a clan member. In contrast, the husband 684 is not so strict about his own fidelity. It is true that adultery committed in secret is not punished by law as a case of theft, although in fact it is regarded as such by the Barundi. However, the deceived husband is entitled to kill the guilty parties in *flagrante delicto* (No. 19, p. 14). In most cases he contents

684 himself with driving the adulteress from the house. In Urundi
837 one generally does not find the laxity of marital customs which exists in several other Bahima states, for example, in Ankole and among the Massai, where the husband customarily lends his wife to any member of his kin group who happens to visit him. Even in Urundi, however, married Batussi women take much greater liberties with other Batussi men, particularly with members of the kin group, than do unmarried women. However, this does not apply to Bantu men (see p. 101).

For this and many other reasons, divorce and dissolution
586 of marriage (uwuhakanji) are frequent occurrences. It is not unusual to find persons who have been married five or six times. Since on the average the purchase price of a bride is quite low and can also be paid back without much difficulty, men and women often use the slightest provocation to separate from each other. If a husband mistreats his wife, she leaves him and returns to her parents or to her relatives who then do not have to refund the purchase price to the guilty husband. [108] If, however, the husband drives his wife away because she is lazy, malicious, or even committed adultery, the parents of the wife have to refund the purchase price of the bride to the husband.
[587] Persons who were divorced may remarry whenever they desire. In case of divorce, small children are left with the mother; of the older children the boys follow the father, and the girls go with the mother (No. 19, p. 174).

After the husband's death his widow (umufakasi) becomes
587 the property of the brother or of the closest relative of the deceased (see p. 92), for when she married she was admitted into her husband's family.

587 In East Africa this so-called levirate is also customary
171 among the Sulu, the Wagogo, Massai, Turkana, Kamasia, Galla, Baganda, Banjankole, Banjaruanda, and others (No. 30, Vol. II, pp. 384, 403, 412, 419, 428, 538, 541).

768 If the deceased has neither brothers nor other close rela-
736 tives, the widow returns to her own family and takes her minor

768 children with her. The grown children stay with the husband's
736 family and provide for their widowed mother. However, child-
less widows earn their subsistence by working for neighbors or
by begging.

The position of women is higher and the esteem in which
562 they are held is greater than among most other East African
593 Negroes. As far as domestic and family matters are concerned,
the wife's position is approximately equal to that of the hus-
band. Both of them share the daily chores, except tending the
[462] cattle which is solely the husband's affair, and work in the
fields and in the garden where most of the work is allotted to
the wife, although the husband will lend his assistance with
all these tasks. The preparation of meals is also solely the
wife's job. In addition to this, the wife takes care of the
children and the hut. The social equality of the two sexes is
also demonstrated by the custom -- which cannot be found
among any other East African people -- that husband and wife
[264] eat together (see p. 26). Emin Pascha expressly reports of the
northern Bahima that the wives eat together with thier hus-
bands, a practice which is not followed by the Bantu who live
there (Petermanns Mitteilungen [Petermann's Communications],
1879, p. 222). The advice of the wife and particularly the
mother is sought in all important affairs in Urundi. Their
opinion is often decisive. Female chiefs are more of an ex-
562 ception here than among the eastern tribes, the Wassumbwa and
the Wanjamwesi, but they do occur as a result of succession by
inheritance, and they are not so conspicuous publicly as among
the Wanjamwesi. The greatest amount of influence is wielded
[644] by the king's mother. She has the role of co-ruler during her
entire lifetime (see p. 185 [not translated]), a position of re-
spect which has also been preserved in the other Bahima states
as far as Ufipa, the southernmost of them (No. 47, p. 90).

Of all the Barundi wives, those of the Batussi are the proudest. In contrast, the Batwa wives are over-burdened with work, are held in low esteem, and have no voice in the family council.

595 The large majority of the Barundi is monogamous. They
are not prosperous enough to be able to purchase more than one
wife or to support more than one household. Anyone who can

595 afford it lives in polygamy in order to have workers to manage his property and to maintain his social position, in order to be able to associate with one wife when the other one is unapproachable during confinement, and for other reasons which are mainly of a practical and economic [109] nature rather than erotic. Thus, many Batussi have two wives, the bigger chiefs three or more, and the king has an entire harem. The Batwa, however, are almost all monogamous because of their poverty (No. 19, p. 447).

There is a widespread custom among the Bahima of Ankole and Kisiba whereby several brothers who are too poor to afford a wife individually pool their resources and buy one wife between them; the children belong to the oldest brother (No. 27, p. 105). This custom of polyandry is apparently very rare in Urundi. [837] However, brothers of a family are often excessively intimate with their brothers' wives.

In Urundi each wife has her hut and her household in a separate kraal. Among prosperous Batussi two wives seldom live within the confines of one enclosure. Usually their houses are a long way from each other, whenever possible on different mountains. The husband is alternately the guest of one or the other. In polygamous families the wife by the first marriage is [426] the head wife, and in matters of inheritance her children take precedence over other wives' children. In addition to regular marriages, concubinage with women of a lower social class exists. [429] The concubine (umukeba, umugensi), although recognized socially, may be dismissed at any time and she and her children [563] have no right of inheritance. Since Bahima wives are not very [842] fecund, many Batussi men take Bahutu women, who are much more fecund, as concubines in order to increase the number of children in the household. This often happens in other Bahima states, and the consequence is that many Bantu in this area have a strong admixture of Bahima blood (No. 17, p. 631). Marriage [583] on a temporary or trial basis is unknown among the Barundi; 548 marriages are, after all, contracted and dissolved so easily that such provisional unions are unnecessary.

000 such provisional unions are unnecessary. Moreover, professional
548 prostitution is for this reason virtually unknown in Urundi (see
also p. 218). I do not know whether the Barundi have "women's
575 clubs" with an organization of their own; in any case, there are
no special women's houses.

2. Birth, Childhood, Puberty, Death

163 As far as the Bahutu are concerned, the Barundi are a
people with a high birthrate. This is less true of the Batussi,
probably as a result of the long period of inbreeding. The more
842 children there are in a family, the greater is the work force
available to the parents and the better are the prospects of
obtaining a good purchase price for the girls who are to be
[832] married. Husband and wife occasionally take aphrodisiacs of
herb juices in order to increase fecundity (No. 19, p. 359).
As soon as the wife has conceived, the medicine man (umufumu)
843 is called. He gives her amulets to protect the embryo from
751 evil spirits. The amulets are worn over the abdomen which is
particularly in need of protection. For the same purpose the
husband occasionally blows tobacco smoke at his wife.

Whenever the results of conception are to be avoided,
847 either for the convenience of the women or in order to remove
the results of illicit intercourse, artificial abortion (lukorora) is
induced by intensive massage and by taking certain infusions
made of herbs. The use of these methods is a kind of secret
science among the women, and the men do not appear to have
any knowledge of it. The application of these methods is con-
[673] sidered a criminal offense and is punished [110] by the head
man or the chief (No. 19, p. 62). On the other hand, in
Ussumbwa and Unjamwesi abortion by means of herbal decoctions
is extremely widespread. "It is the goal of Barundi couples to
854 have as many children as possible. One frequently sees fathers
tending, carrying, and feeding their children in Urundi but
000 never in Ussumbwa or in Unjamwesi. Barrenness (ingumba) is

Barrenness (ingumba) is
842 regarded as a misfortune and is grounds for divorce. It is not
586 unusual for a Barundi mother to give birth to a child just one
year after a previous birth. In Ussumbwa the period will be at
least two years since an infant first has to be weaned before
intercourse is permitted again; this is not the case in Urundi.
165 Child mortality also is very high in Urundi. Of the children
13 to 15 years old fewer than two thirds survive. One may often
hear women saying that they lost ten children, but a sufficient
number is left because of the high fertility (van der Burgt,
Koloniale Rundschau [Colonial Review], 1913, pp. 721-722).

When delivery (uwurjasi) is near, the woman in labor is
844 assisted by a few women neighbors who are called in and, in
difficult cases only, by a "wise woman" or the medicine man
who operates with all kinds of magic but who also uses really
effective methods and techniques, ranging from herbal medicine
845 and light massage to Caesarean operations (see pp. 140, 142 ;
No. 19, pp. 9, 363). I do not know how this latter operation
is performed; presumably it is only performed on dead women
in order to save the child or to remove it, as is expressly reported
by Emin Pascha of the Bahima of Unjoro (Petermanns
Mitteilungen [Petermann's Communications], 1879, p. 393).
[171] The Caesarean operation is also known in Ruanda, Ussuwi,
Kisiba, and Uganda (No. 48, p. 228). During her labor the
844 woman lies on her sleeping mat, or she squats on the ground
with her back propped against one of the poles which support
the hut or with some other person supporting her from behind.
At this time the men leave the hut. As soon as the child is
born, it is washed with cold water and rubbed with butter. The
placenta is buried in the hut under the mother's bed; the
umbilical cord is severed with a chip of wood and kept as an
amulet by the mother. The newborn infant's body is then
squeezed and pulled by the mother so as to give the head and
limbs the proper shape (No. 19, p. 9). Deformation of the
skull, however, is not practiced.

846 After giving birth, the mother is washed with warm water,
and her body is rubbed with herbal juices. She remains in the
hut for four or five days, depending on whether she has given

846 birth to a girl or a boy. When she leaves the house, her head is
newly shaved, and she wears a broad headband made from a
corn leaf, probably as a symbol of fertility and as an amulet.

The mother suckles her baby as long as she has milk and
853 as long as the physical condition of the infant seems to require
it, which frequently is as much as three to four years. After
giving birth to the child, she remains separated from her husband
until her menstrual cycle begins again. However, if menstruation
fails to occur, the separation is soon ended.

The birth of twins (amahassa) is greeted with mixed feelings.
845 Van der Burgt is of the opinion that it gives rise to joy
because the Barundi attribute a religious meaning to the birth
of twins which they regard as "ope incubi" [the result of intercourse
with a spirit] (No. 19, p. 325). On the other hand,
Gassldinger states that the birth of twins is considered a bad
omen since twins are the favorites of Kiranga, and for this
reason they will soon be taken away by him (die) unless the
parents pay ransom by making large sacrificial offerings (No.
45, 1914, p. 314). I refrain from giving an opinion as to which
845 conception is the correct one. However, it is a fact that the
782 birth of twins is followed by extraordinary rites, sacrifices, and
celebrations. The underlying reason [111] for this is probably
that it is known from experience that twins are usually physically
weak, and also they cannot get a sufficient amount of nourishment
from the mother. As a result, both (or one of them) usually
die unless Kiranga is propitiated by the offering of sacrifices.
Upon receiving the news of the birth of twins, crowds of neighbors
and friends gather. They sing and provide presents and large
amounts of food which, however, are only intended for the
spirits and disappear at night. A priest (kiranga) is called in.
Aided by his assistants and numerous participants, he first performs
the ceremony of the "holy spear" (see p. 134). By venerating
[776] this symbol, its patron, the great spirit Kiranga, master
over all material things, is shown gratitude, and his special
blessings are called down upon the twins and their parents (No. 19,
845 pp. 516, 324, 216). Then the young men, with their faces
535 painted red and yellow, perform ritual dances in the courtyard

845 of the hut to the accompaniment of rattles. These dances last
535 from four to six hours and induce real frenzy in the dancers. They form a circle, jump and contort their bodies bathed in perspiration, and sing rhythmical songs of short stanzas. A circle dance of the girls follows. They are painted and are adorned with leaves. In the meantime large amounts of beer are consumed. The celebration continues in this manner for two or three nights and even longer. In the end the priest once
845 more performs the great ceremony of the holy spear, and two
782 little lambs are dedicated to the god as substitutes for the twins. The lambs may not be slaughtered and are allowed to run around freely and eat whatever and wherever they desire. However, the dances and the drinking bouts often continue for two or three weeks longer (No. 19, p. 325; No. 45, 1914, p. 315).

847 Infanticide (kumuniga umwana) is rare among the Barundi, but it does occur, mainly because the mother wishes to avoid the tedious work of bringing up and feeding the baby. Nominally this is regarded as a punishable crime, but the offender is rarely punished since it is difficult to prove intent to kill (by suffocation). An infant is legally killed by the medicine man if it is
[826] born with teeth or if its upper incisors grow first (No. 4, p. 221).
[171] This is also reported by Lechaptois from the southernmost Bahima state, Ufipa (No. 47, p. 138). The Batwa, too, kill such infants.

As soon as the child's hair begins to grow or as soon as it is
553 able to walk, it is given a name (isina) by the father. The mother and friends add still other names, so each Murundi has at least two or three names. No special celebration is connected with the naming of the child. There are a great variety of
551 names. They either indicate particular characteristics of the child or refer to certain events in its young life, or they result from some whim of the name-giver, for example: kitwe, thickhead; mbiriko, wood chip; ntarija, it does not cry; kimina, it walks upright; kiriwate, cattle hide; manwa, big mouth; mawamba, orphan; yamirwa, beer; inambu, hunger; tunguru, name of a bird. There are other, ugly Barundi names which

551 Father Gassldinger erroneously connects with the fear of death: nsujimbwa, dog kennel; sembwa, father of a dog; inangurube, pig's mother; kabwebwe, jackal; kabaragassa, flea; somojindi, human excrement. Others are: ruteratschuma, he hurls the iron; ndarusanse, I have hit it; ntamavukiro, homeless; rurihasi, he is near; ruronona, he is the destroyer; rutakaje, he has been lost [112] (No. 46, 1913, p. 13). In addition to his proper name, each child also bears the name of its clan and is given one or more nicknames which it retains even as an adult. The true names of children or adults are only reluctantly revealed to strangers because it is assumed that the latter, by knowing the name, may obtain magical power over its bearer which they might abuse to cause him harm (see p. 133).

The feeding and rearing of the child are entirely the af-
853 fair of the mother. She breast feeds it up to the age of three and four years, and it is very amusing to see a strapping little boy run away from his play and up to his mother where he takes a few refreshing draughts from her breast and then once more
854 rejoins his playmates. The children are kept clean and given
[515] a bath every day. There are no baskets or cradles where the children may be deposited. As long as the infant is unable to walk properly, it is carried on its mother's back all the time
[482] in a carrying sling (impetso) made of goat or sheep skin with openings for the child's head and legs. Even while working in the fields or while dancing, the mother usually keeps the child on her back; its head and legs are then jolted about by the sudden movements as though it were a puppet. Yet this seldom makes the child cry. From time to time the child is taken out of the sling by lifting it gently from the side and allowed to defecate. If it has done so inside the rucksack, the latter and the mother and child are simply washed. Older children are placed astride the left hip of their mother who supports them from behind with her left arm.

854 At night the children lie on animal skins on the ground.
513 They are covered with the upper garment of the mother which is made of soft cloth from the bark of the fig tree. Very small children are sometimes caressed with kisses by their mother. Otherwise the Barundi are not familiar with kissing (No. 19,

854 513 p. 63). In order to put the child to sleep and also to soothe it in the daytime, the mother may lightly pat its back and occasionally sing a monotonous "cradle song." Van der Burgt has recorded one in which the evil mother-in-law is mentioned to frighten the child: "Be quiet; otherwise I shall take you to the mother-in-law. She will give you only water. When the cows come home and are milked, you will go hungry. Mother-in-law will not protect you from the sun nor against hunger" (No. 19, p. 71).

861 Spiritually and morally the children grow up wild. There is no effort to cure children of bad habits nor to teach them good ones. As long as the children's bad manners do not inconvenience the parents, they even take pleasure in inciting them to fits of temper, to fight, and to steal. Only in exceptional cases is there any practical training in special jobs and handicrafts. Whatever the children learn is acquired by observation, listening, and by helping with work. From an early age they must help their parents in all their work, and being by nature intelligent and vivacious, they soon become surprisingly independent.

145 864 839 Boys reach puberty (kukura) when they are between 12 to 15 years old, girls even earlier. Long before that, however, they are enlightened about sexual matters and have learned many loathsome things of a sexual nature from those who are older. This does not mean that they have sexual intercourse at a very early age, but onanism and masturbation are widespread vices.

839 [113] About these practices van der Burgt reports (No. 19, p. 361): "Puellae praesertim horibili huic vitio valde deditae sunt, sub praetextu quidem, ut magis aptae fiant matrimonio et viris placeant. In actu ipso nefando quoddam juramentum vel potius imprecationem pronuntiant: witsche inka ninokura ndasy'inka. Insuper variis mediis utuntur ad majorem voluptatem sibi procurandam. Media generatim sunt plantae, vel radices plantarum arborumve, quibus labia perfricantur." [Tr., "The girls especially are given to indulge in this horrible vice at an early age under the pretext that this makes them more fit for

839 marriage and is pleasing to men. During this execrable act, they pronounce certain oaths or, rather imprecations: witsche inka ninokura ndasy'inka. In addition, they use various means to obtain greater pleasure for themselves. In general they use plants or roots of plants and trees with which they rub the labia." Van der Burgt adds in a letter to me: "His perfricationibus labia extenduntur, ut flavescentes prostent et volumen vel longitudinem extraordinariam adspirantur. Haec consuetudo generalis tanquam nationalis considerari potest non solum in Urundi et Ruanda, sed etiam generatim inter tribus Africae interioris, paucis exceptis v. Wasukuma. Ergo primo loco non voluptas procuranda intenditur, sed puellae volunt 'pulchras se facere,' quia permulti adolescentes nunquam puellam in matrimonium ducerent, quae talia labia non habet. Post matrimonium se abstinent ab illa manipulatione." [Tr., "By means of this friction they extend the labia so that they become yellow and protrude, and they try to give them an extraordinary size and length. This custom may be considered [171] a general or national one not only in Urundi and Ruanda but also among the majority of tribes of central Africa with few exceptions, as, for instance, the Wasukuma. Consequently, it is not primarily intended as a means of obtaining pleasure, but the [826] girls simply wish to 'make themselves pretty,' since very many young men would not marry a girl who did not have such labia. After marriage the girls abstain from this manipulation."

I could not learn anything about the puberty rites; how- 881 ever, they most certainly are celebrated. Van der Burgt does not report anything on this subject either (No. 19, p. 394). In 304 any case, boys are not circumcised nor are girls infibulated. Only the Batwa, who in contrast to the Batussi and the Bahutu practice deformation of the teeth, sharpen the two upper incisors with a knife as an act to announce puberty (No. 19, pp. 105, 155).

I also was unable to ascertain whether the youths who had 561 reached puberty joined a social club or formed a special "age

561 group" as is found among several East African tribes. Is such a social institution does exist among the Barundi, it plays no role in public life. Nor are there special bachelors' huts or kraals for such an age group, while among other Hamitic peoples of East Africa -- or peoples under Hamitic influence -- for example, the Massai, the Wapokomo [Pokome], and the Galla, these age groups constitute the principal structure of the entire social life.

Among the Massai there are three age groups: the boys living with their parents, the unmarried youths (of the warrior caste) who live together in their own kraals, and the peaceful married men. Similarly among the Wapokomo and the Galla there are: first, the boys; second, the various age groups of those who have been circumcised at the same time, or Luva; and third, the class of the older men, or Gada. (A. Werner, "The Galla of East Africa," Journal of the African Society, Vol. 13, 1914, p. 262 ff.) In Ruanda the youthful band of warriors which usually appears at the court of Musinga for festive occasions and performs war dances might suggest that such an "age group" of unmarried youths exists among the Batussi, but perhaps they are only a kind of cadet or page corps of the king (see p. 65).

888 775 Old persons who have lost their physical and mental agility are seldom seen since they remain within the homesteads. Their next of kin take care of them until their death (ukufa), perhaps less for reasons of piety than for fear that if they treated them badly they might take revenge after their death as spirits. 763 When a person is dying his family usually gathers around him. Immediately after death, the women in the house and the neighborhood raise a loud and plaintive wailing while the men close the eyes of the deceased, bend his arms and legs, and tie him up (in a crouched position) so as to prevent him or his spirit from returning. Preparations are immediately made for the burial.

764 771 Burial in a crouched position is also the custom in Ankole, Mpororó, Ufipa, and in other Bahima states, also among the

764 Massai and the Galla. (A. Werner, "The Galla of East Africa,"
171 Journal of the African Society, Vol. 13, 1914, p. 283; and No. 47, p. 159.)

764 [114] With the exception of executed criminals whose
[764] corpses are thrown into the bush for the hyenas to feed on, all Barundi are buried (kuhamba). Baumann reports that "the next of kin cut open the belly of those who have died in order to search for the evil charm responsible for the death" (No. 4, p. 222). I have not been able to confirm this either by my own investigations in the country itself, by van der Burgt, or others. The corpse is not washed but is put into the grave in its ordinary garments and with its amulets; at best it is wrapped in an old mat. No other funeral gifts are added. The burial takes place a few hours after death has occurred.

The grave (isjobo) is dug within the courtyard next to the fence or, if the dead person was the father of the family, in the center of the courtyard opposite the entrance to the main hut (No. 19, p. 203). However, according to O. Baumann, the grave is dug inside the hut itself (?) which is then abandoned. (No. 4, p. 223). While the corpse is being carried to the grave, the women once more set up a loud lament; they act as though they intended to prevent the burial, and they shout words of farewell to the deceased. If the dead person was the father of a family, the widow squats beside him before his burial, applies butter to his head, and speaks well of him so as to make his spirit look with favor on the members of the family. Then the corpse is placed in the grave which is padded with leaves; it is placed on its right side in a crouched position. Then the grave is filled with earth and a little sepulchral mound is formed on top upon which are placed various objects that the dead person used, for example, earthen vessels, old baskets, the plaited screen that covered the entrance to his hut, and other things. After a short time these objects are removed, the sepulchral mound is leveled, and nothing is left to indicate the site of the grave.

Funeral rites are performed only when a king is buried,
765 but after each death certain mourning customs are observed
which are more or less elaborate depending on the social position
of the deceased. If the deceased is a common Murundi
and also father of a family, his widow (or widows) and children
observe a mourning period of seven days by not leaving the
homestead. Presumably they are afraid of the spirit of the deceased
when going outside the house so shortly after his death.
Inside the hut they introduce numerous inovations and rearrangements
as though they wanted to lead astray and divert the
spirit of the deceased should he decide to return. The entrance
to the residential hut is changed to another side, new stones are
found for the fireplace, the place of the bed is moved, all the
tools are rearranged, and so forth. After the seventh day every
[783] member of the family takes a thorough bath in a stream, probably
as a symbolic cleansing from the defilement caused by the
deceased. Then the whole family have their heads shaved as a
symbol of purification and mourning, and during the following
two months they always wear clothes of mourning when leaving
[292] the house, i.e., barkcloth which is neither dyed black, the
normal color, nor painted with patterns (No. 19, p. 163) but
[822] has its natural reddish-brown color; thus red is the color of
mourning here. The name of the deceased is not mentioned any
[551] more so as not to cause his malevolent spirit to appear, and all
other persons or objects bearing the same name are given new ones.

Naturally a deceased mutwale is given more respect than
766 a common Murundi. For the former the kiranga performs the
211 ceremonies of the "holy spear" (see p. 134), and a tree is
768 planted on his grave [115] as a memorial (imana) which is inviolable.
The family of the deceased leaves the homestead and
settles in another place; the huts of the deceased disintegrate
and disappear, and the fig trees that form the fence gradually
grow into magnificent trees. Nobody may cut them down for
[689] wood on pain of death (No. 19, p. 205). The sites where
chiefs once lived, both in Urundi and Ruanda, can be picked
out anywhere in the landscape by these groups of trees arranged
in a circle where they once enclosed the courtyards (Plate 29a).

[765] The mourning period for a *mutwale* lasts two to three weeks.

However, the highest honors are paid to the dead king
766 (see p. 185 [not translated]). The corpse is first wrapped in
775 hides and barkcloth. It is not buried but dried over a smoking
fire until it has become completely mummified. The first
worm ("soul worm") that leaves the corpse is put into a milk
pot and fed until one night it leaves the pot and turns into a
giant snake (*isato*) in which the spirit (*umusimu*) of the dead
king will reside from then on. The corpse is not embalmed.
766 The corpse of the king is not arranged in a crouched position
as are those of the common Barundi; the arms and legs remain
extended (No. 19, p. 204). In Ankole, however, the
king's body is also put in a crouched position, wrapped in
cowhide and buried (No. 27, p. 101). In Urundi the dead king
is then put on a wooden trestle in the center of the homestead
and left to lie in state until the feet of the trestle are eaten by
termites. Under certain conditions this may take months. It
is reported that King Kisabo lay in state in this way for an
entire year. A local missionary told me that the deceased was
[588] even "married" to a young wife whose duty it was to take care
of him and to provide him with food and *pombe* beer every day.
During the entire period in which he lies in state the king's
subjects gather from all corners of his realm; they pray to his
spirit to win his favor, eat and drink in a festive funeral
banquet beside his bier, and praise the deceased. Of course,
the great ceremony of the "holy spear" is also performed. The
[765] official period of mourning for the king is one month. Finally,
the mummy, accompanied by the medicine men and priests
and followed by a wailing crowd of people, is carried away by
the closest male relatives of the king. It is taken a distance of
several days' journey to Ganso Mountain in the northwestern
border mountains adjoining Ruanda, south of the source of the
Ruvuvu River. The corpse is finally buried in a forest which
may be entered only by the members of the royal family
(Baganwa) and the priests. According to van der Burgt, however,
it is not buried but simply laid to rest in a hut (see p. 186 [not
translated]). The other Barundi kings have also been laid to rest
there (No. 4, p. 223). On the other hand, van der Burgt writes

766 that the burial ground is a place called Wunjange close to
Imanga Mountain (see p. 185 [not translated]).

Emin Pascha reports of the Bahima (Wahuma) of Unjoro
171 that in this region the corpse of the ruler is also smoked on a
catafalque and preserved in his hut for many years until his
successor finally buries him (Petermanns Mitteilungen, 1879,
p. 392).

In Urundi the homestead of the dead king is abandoned
768 as are those of deceased batwale; it gradually disintegrates and
only the trees that formerly formed the fence reveal to the
traveler the former importance of the site. A guard inside a
775 hut placed next to it [116] sees that nobody enters the place
769 and that the spirit of the deceased king, which, as has already
been mentioned, is usually pictured as a big snake living on the
site (totemism, p. 102), regularly receives sacrificial offerings
of food and drink (No. 19, p. 205).

Van der Burgt reports that in honor of the dead king "heca-
766 tombs of human victims" are sacrificed (No. 19, p. 204), and
661 that some batwale and influential Barundi are executed" in
order to appease the manes of the king." This presumably
refers mainly to those unfortunate people who immediately after
the king's death fall as victims of the policy of his successor
or of the pretender to the throne, as well as the alleged sorcerers
and witches who caused the king's death -- for natural death is
[761] something the Barundi do not know -- and who are now hunted
down by the medicine men and executed (see p. 132, 140).
In former times a few young girls and important men of the
country were killed at the king's funeral in order to "accompany
the deceased to the beyond" (see p. 186 [not translated]).

[117] Chapter 9

Religion, Myths, Cults, Missions

1. Gods

771 The religion of the Barundi is probably best described as animism and totemism, with a generous admixture of elements of fetishism (talisman), manism (worship of the ancestral spirits), and hero cult. The last has already become a cult of gods in many respects. This mixture of elements of the "totemistic era" with those of the "era of heroes and gods" (No. 43, pp. 116, 278) is undoubtedly the result of the mixture of the indigenous Batwa and Bantu with the Hamitic conquerors who added their totemistic clan organization and the cult of their heroes -- who have become tribal gods -- to the clan system, animism, and fetishism of the Batwa and Bantu. All these different social and religious elements have permeated each other, partly by merely existing side by side, partly by merging together and changing, so that it is often difficult to separate out neatly the individual elements and to recognize their origin.

Animism and the belief in demons constitute the main body of the religious concepts of the Barundi. These beliefs are shared by Batwa, Bahutu, and also the Batussi, although the latter to a much smaller extent. Apparently in Urundi as well as in all the rest of the interlacustrine region the Bahima brought with them more refined religious ideas from their original homes in the north. These ideas partly repressed the crude belief in demons and sorcery held by the Bantu Negroes and gave a more important role to ancestor worship. It is true, however, that the large majority of the Bahutu still cling to the old primitive belief in demons and sorcery which conforms so well to their
774 spiritual bent. The Barundi believe that everything is endowed
787 with a soul. As among most primitive peoples who are still at the stage of animism, their ideas of an immaterial soul are based on the observed fact that in a sleeping body there exists

774 something which is alive, which does not rest but thinks, sees,
787 and moves about. In a dream this incorporeal part of us sees the world not merely as a person who is awake does, but it also meets the dead who thus continue to exist incorporeally after death. If this immaterial element, the life-generating soul, permanently leaves the body, the human being dies.

774 The distinction between the body or shadow soul and the breath soul which W. Wundt and C. Meinhof considered characteristic of totemistic conceptions (No. 43, p. 203; No. 41, pp. 32-34) apparently fits [118] the notions of the Barundi, for the Murundi clearly distinguishes between the spirit of a dead person, the umusimu, and the soul active within a living person, the umutima, which is destroyed at the moment of death along with the pulsating heart, the indihagusi (No. 46, p. 15). It further seems certain to me that the Barundi conceive of all things, organic or inorganic, as being endowed with souls; this does not only apply to persons and animals but also to plants, stones, stars, fire, fountains, rivers, etc. These are not simply regarded as the occasional residences of former human and animal souls but as having souls of their own. Thus, the thorny bush which scratches the hunter and makes him bleed does so not only because it is the abode of what formerly was a malicious human soul but because it has a malicious "bush soul" of its own. The fountain refreshes the thirsty traveler not because, or not only because in it resides the spirit of what was formerly a generous person but because it has its own generous "fountain soul."

775 Umusimu is not only the term for the spirit of the deceased but also for the object or the animal which the spirit of the deceased has chosen as its residence; there may be various ones. Frequently these are small oblong pebbles (inguru) from the fields of the deceased. These pebbles are collected by the next of kin and put into a wooden trough which is placed inside the sacrificial hut where a beer sacrifice is made to them (No. 46, p. 16). Often the soul of a dead person also resides in an object close to his former dwelling, in a tree, fence, or rock, often also in an animal which by its nimble

775 agility conjures up the idea of the breath-like fleetingness of the soul, especially in snakes, lizards, and birds and also in unpleasant animals like toads, crocodiles, hyenas, and others. Apparently the members of certain clans all turn into specific animals, the totem animal (umusiru) of the clan (see p. 102). In general the first worm leaving the decaying corpse of a person is regarded as the vehicle of his soul until it has choosen another definite residence. As mentioned on p. 115, the first worm leaving the corpse of a king is therefore fed with milk until it turns into a large python who is worshipped as a god. The souls of great batwale turn into other snakes, lions, and leopards, who then reside in the holy groves (imana) near the graves. From there the snakes often visit the huts of the family and the mother of the family regards them as soul animals of the deceased family members and feeds them milk. The same [171] is true of the Galla, the Massai, and the Kaffir [Xosa] of South Africa (No. 41, p. 36; No. 19, p. 354). The idea of divine punishment, purification, and expiatory transmigration of souls which missionaries in particular read into this transfer of human souls into animals was certainly foreign to the Barundi originally. The fundamental notion of such a "transmigration of souls" is rather the totemic affinity of a human kin group with a particular animal species (see p. 102). The Barundi are, however, in the least disturbed by the internal contradiction contained in these notions, namely, the fact that the animal, tree, rock, stream, etc., which is occupied by the soul of the deceased person, would then have to have two souls. The logic of Negroes is different from that of Europeans.

The question of the immortality of the soul, which, of course, is strongly emphasized in the teachings of the Christian missionaries, leaves the non-Christianized Murundi as cold as all other East African Negroes. His imagination and ethical needs are [119] satisfied by assuming that the soul survives death. He is not further concerned about how long this survival lasts. Perhaps he thinks, as most other African natives do, that souls do not live on for eternity but that they gradually become weaker and smaller and finally disappear entirely (No. 41, p. 41) or that after the soul has entered an animal its life will be extinguished with that of the animal.

775 The spirits of the dead are, without exception, more or less evil and hostile to the living even if they were relatively good-natured when they were still alive. The dead person was forced to leave behind everything that he loved and cherished in his life, and for this reason he is filled with envy for those who survive and possess all these things. These jealous spirits, hostile to men and causing sickness, ruined crops, cattle epidemics, and other misfortunes, are the dreaded abasimu or imisimu (sing., umusimu); to repel, confine, appease them, or to win their favor forms the largest part of the thoughts and acts which occupy a Barundi's mind in his daily life. We find these primitive evil spirits among all the Bahima under the same name, abasimu or imisimu, even in the southern area of settlement, in Ufipa (No. 047, pp. 167-168). The envy and 775 hostility of the abasimu are soothed and assuaged by placing 782 valuable objects belonging to the deceased on his grave. Also, as often as possible morsels of food and parts of the objects formerly belonging to the deceased and now in use are offered as a sacrifice (see p. 136). The incorporeal spirit eats or uses only the incorporeal part of these sacrifices, i.e., the "essence" of the proffered beer, meat, millet gruel, jugs, knives, arrows, hoes, etc. The sacrificial offerings are nothing but a premium to obtain greater security against the hostility of the abasimu. By no means can they be regarded as pious offerings to the revered and beloved ancestors. The Murundi only offers sacrifices to the manes because he is afraid of them. Yet a more effective method than making sacrifices is joining a 775 religious secret society, the religious fraternity of the ababandwa 794 of which we shall speak in greater detail below (p. 124). These ababandwa assume a privileged position in the realm of the spirits after their death. If their behavior within the society has been found correct, they come to Riangombe where, as imandwa, they form a kind of bodyguard of the god. They are, so to speak, the saints of the Barundi heaven.

776 Above the innumerable nameless abasimu and above the imandwa there is a stratum of higher spirits who are given names.

776 The relation between these two groups is similar to that of the ruling caste of the Batussi to the Bahutu (No. 19, p. 213). They are all personified beings whom we may call simply gods. A whole series of them bears the same names as former historical personalities among the Barundi or neighboring peoples. Everything that is said about them proves that these gods were originally heroes, chiefs, and kings of the people. As a result of their apparently superhuman characteristics and acts, they were worshipped as heroes and have gradually been elevated to the rank of gods. The hero has not been formed after the image of god, but the god after the image of the hero (No. 43, p. 280). Nor are these gods personifications of great natural phenomena, as, for example, the sun, moon, clouds, or thunder. The Murundi regards these phenomena simply as the residence and the expressions of the abasimu who inhabit them but not the personification of individual gods (No. 43, p. 358 ff.).

776 177 The name-bearing hero-gods of the Barundi who have been [120] vested with the characteristics of superhuman personality and immortality are -- judging by the attributes and histories ascribed to them -- partly popular gods of the indigenous Bantu and Batwa and partly an import of the Hamitic conquerors, partly also a mixture of both these elements. Van der Burgt does not believe that the deified heroes were originally Hamitic princes but emphasizes (reported by letter) that "most of the names of the gods belong to Bantu religion and are Bantu words." He maintains that in addition to the language the Batussi also acquired the gods of the Bahutu, but that the Batwa have some gods of their own, for example, Indagarra. However, among the 30 names of Barundi gods listed by van der Burgt (No. 19, p. 214), the following appear to me to be of Hamitic origin, or at least not genuine Bantu gods: Riangombe, Umugassa, Wamara, Kagoro, Ruwambo, Ruhanga, Rugba. Of these, Riangombe (Ljangombe, Djangombi) is also worshipped as a god in the Bahima states of Ruanda, Kisiba, Mpororó, Ankole, and others. He is thought to have been a Ruanda-Mutussi, the pupil of the first Ruhinda, and it is said that he distinguished himself by his great magic power (see also p. 188 [not translated]). Umugassa

776 177 or Mugascha is worshipped as a god of streams and of rain in Uganda ("Mukessa," see Anthropos III, p. 214), in Ankole, Kisiba, Karagwe (Lake Mugascha), Kissaka, and Ussuwi. According to the tradition of the Basiba, he was a former king of the Sese Islands in the northern part of Lake Victoria (No. 31, p. 128; No. 27, p. 110; No. 34, pp. 518-519). Wamara is worshipped in Ankole and in Kisiba as the spirit of the dead souls. According to Banjankole tradition, he was a king of the Batschwesi in Baera (Uganda) who were a Hamitic people different from the Bahima, and he conquered Ankole. According to Rehse, he was "formerly a great ruler to whom the nations from Nyanza to the Congo State owed allegiance" (No. 31, pp. 126-127; No. 34, p. 520). Kagoro is regarded in Kisiba as a grandchild of Wamara (No. 31, p. 133). Rugaba or Lugaba, who is worshipped as the creator of man and cattle in Kisiba and in Ankole (No. 27, p. 108), was, according to van der Burgt, "the oldest king of the Wahinda" (No. 19, p. 219). Rehse writes of the gods of the Basiba that "the description of this world of spirits would at the same time represent the oldest history of Kisiba as well as that of all the central African countries." This also applies to the hero-gods of the Barundi. It would be a rewarding task to study these religious sources, especially for missionaries!

776 The Basiba worship a supreme god named Rugaba as the creator of the world and the highest giver of grace, but they never offer sacrifices to him (No. 31, p. 125). In the same manner the Barundi and Banjaruanda (No. 28, pp. 1-13) worship Imana. He is never offered sacrifices or prayers, as an unapproachable supreme being. People prefer to turn to gods who are closer to human beings, who have once been human beings themselves, like Riangombe, Kiranga, Wamara, and others. Although he is conceived of as the personified creator and ruler of the world, Imana is the only one in the abode of the gods of the Barundi whose name is sometimes used as a
776 general term for the world of the spirits. Imana is simply "the
778 divine," "the godhead." Imana is also the term for all that is sacred to the Murundi: the sacred trees, the sacred steer, the

776 king, the amulets, the oracle animals, the sacred spear, etc.
[778] (No. 19, p. 214). The same applies to Ruanda (No. 44, pp.
284; No. 39, pp. 102, 109). Imana is given a number of
different names or is identified with other gods, depending on his
different characteristics and functions. This is also true in
[551] Ruanda. Children are often given names which contain the
word Imana: [121] Kaimana, little Imana; Mbonimana, gift
of Imana; Ndorimana, appearance of Imana; Keschimana,
ornament of Imana (No. 23, 1913, p. 308). Both men and
[842] women, if they wish to have offspring, wear an *impusu y'Imana*,
a garment of Imana, made of reddish barkcloth with black
circles painted on it. Imana is the supreme god of all manes,
of all ancestral spirits, and thereby has the character of an old
national god.

Although Imana as the sole creator of the world ranks high above the other gods, one nevertheless cannot describe this as a monotheistic concept of the Barundi, as is done by some missionaries (No. 44, p. 283). Nor is it correct to attempt to see a kind of "Trinity" in the fact that, besides Imana, the Barundi have two supreme gods, Rikiranga and Riangombe, whom they often identify or confuse with Imana (No. 19, p. 214). This is to put Christian interpretations on the matter, and these are foreign to the thinking of the Barundi.

It appears that *Kiranga* or *Rikiranga* ranks closest to Imana.
If Imana is described as the supreme head of the high ancestral
spirits, Kiranga is the ruler of all the lesser demons and of all
things material. For this reason von der Burgt describes him
as a kind of "*logos payen*" (No. 19, p. 216). He is the god to
whom people appeal first for assistance in all worldly matters.
It is Kiranga to whom the priestly cult of the crowds is devoted,
to him the ceremony of the "sacred spear" is dedicated (see
p. 134), and the high priest calls himself Kiranga for he is
"possessed" by him, he is his medium (p. 123). To all appearances he is a deity of the old Bantu population and has remained
776 quite free of Batussi influence. The missionaries refer to
778 Kiranga as the "devil" (No. 23, 1904, p. 123). It is said that
793 near Mujaga in central Urundi Kiranga possesses two large herds

776 of cattle led by two sacred steers. He is thought to have a sacred
778 mountain administered by a priestess who wields great influence
793 and is even immune to the power of the king, although the
latter keeps her under constant guard so as to insure that she fulfills her cult duties. If she neglects her duties, she and her closest relatives are executed upon the order of the king. Her office, it is said, begins and ends with the reign of the king, for after the king's death she has to take poison.

776 Father Gassldinger describes Kiranga as the "great
782 destroyer," the Lucifer of the Barundi. People appeal to him
first in all their afflictions, misery, and fear, and it is to him that most sacrificial huts (akararo) are dedicated. Inside these huts there is, as a rule, a big three-legged earthen pot with three spouts into which the sacrifice is deposited. Besides beer, grain stalks constitute the main sacrificial offerings made in these huts. Horns of cattle are also burned in them as sacrifices (No. 45, 1913, p. 359 ff.).

776 It is characteristic of the confused conception which the Barundi have of the different personalities of their gods and spirits that they often mix up the terms and attribute the names of several gods to a single one of them. For example, one may hear them say: "Riangombe is powerful, he is Kiranga; Kagoro is also Kiranga, he is Sengoga." Kiranga is also called Rugaba, Ruhanga, Inganje, Njabaski, Indagarra, or Rukisa, or these names are used as epithets of Imana, and the word Imana itself is used as a plural concept (No. 45, 1913, p. 363). Among the names listed there are several which we already know, as shown above (p.120), from other Bahima states as the names of specific gods and spirits. In Urundi their images seem to have faded [122] so much that they are confused with one another, and the concepts people had of them seem to have been reduced to mere attributes or epithets of Imana who in any case has already become a collective term for "sacred" or "divine" rather than a personified god.

Riangombe is third among the gods. He is the supreme head of all good spirits (imandwa) whom Imana entrusted with the task of guiding human beings and protecting them against evil

776 spirits (*abasimu*) (No. 44, p. 286). In Ruanda the religious
society Kubandwa is dedicated to him (see p. 124), and after
death he is the judge of the just and the unjust. For this
reason he plays a more important role than any other god in the
ethical and emotional life of the Barundi, and the same is true
in Ruanda. This is also demonstrated by the fact that Riangombe
(or Imana) is the protector of what to the Murundi and the
Munjaruanda are their most treasured possessions: their cattle
(see p. 46).

776 According to Ruanda tradition, Riangombe during his
human existence was a Muhima of the privileged kin group, the
773 Bega, the highest nobility next to the royal family of the
772 Banjeginja. His father, Babinga, was the religious head of
Ruanda, and Riangombe became his successor as the chief of the
ababandwa, the religious fraternity. At the same time the
political king of Ruanda was Lugansu who at first made war on
him but then recognized and honored him (No. 44, p. 281).
Imana was very favorably disposed toward the high priest
Riangombe during his lifetime. When the latter died, Imana led
him to the high volcano Muhawura where Riangombe now grazed
his herd and planted his tobacco (the large-leafed Senecio). The
plantations, however, were destroyed by the evil spirit Niragongo
who resides on the mountain of the same name [Nyiragonga].
Then Riangombe, backed by Imana, sallied out against Niragongo,
destroyed his dwelling, and set fire to the mountain (the volcano
Nyiragongo). Now Riangombe alternately lives undisturbed on
Muhawura and Karisimbi [Mountain] where he grazes his large,
sacred, milch cattle herds and where he is served by the *imandwa*,
the spirits of the deceased members of the religious society of
the *ababandwa*. These alone enter his "Paradise," while the
souls of unblessed, profane persons (*abansigo*) are relegated as
demons (*abasimu*) to Namlagira and Nyiragongo where in the
"Hell" of the volcanos they lead a shadowy existence as slaves.
This is the Ruanda tradition as reported by Father Arnoux (No.
44). The essential elements of this tradition have also been
preserved among the Barundi. Indeed, one still finds here even
the account that after his death Riangombe was buried on the

776 mountain "Vurunga wa niangombe" in Ruanda (No. 19, p. 216),
773 although the Virunga volcanos of northern Ruanda are completely
772 unknown to the Barundi. The concept of Paradise and Hell
(Karisimbe and Nyiragongo) is probably of local origin in Ruanda; in Urundi nothing of this sort is known (van der Burgt, written communication).

776 Both in Urundi and Kisiba, Riangombe is mainly regarded as the protector of cattle. In Kisiba he is only worshipped by the Bahima, and his priest is always a Muhima. However, he does not enjoy special status in Ankole (No. 34, p. 520). Further, since in Ruanda and Urundi he (next to Kiranga) is the focus of worship for the religious fraternities (ababandwa) and since in Urundi he is even revered by the Batwa as their chief deity (No. 19, p. 216), one may conclude that this herdsman's god, who evidently came into the country with the Bahima, has gradually been adopted by the Negroes and has become established in the old Negro mythology of the Bahutu and Batwa.

[123] Father Loupias, however, is of a different opinion. He assumes that Riangombe was originally a deity of the Bahutu or perhaps of the Batwa, and he states that in Ruanda neither the king nor the "great" Batussi are members of the order of the imandwa which is dedicated to Riangombe (No. 28, p. 6). The latter statement, however, is true also for Urundi, but it might be interpreted as aristocratic reserve on the part of the Batussi nobles against close contact with the Bahutu or with the Batwa.

Among the other Barundi deities which have not been mentioned above, the following are most probably the old indigenous gods of the agricultural Bahutu and the Batwa: Indagarra is the god of procreative power, a "Priapus," who is worshipped especially by the Batwa; Njamurimi is regarded as the protector of the fields; Njankuru is the national god of the Basige in northwest Urundi; Ingansje appears to be a god of time, "Chronos"; Wandamutoni is the wife of Imana; Ikisjego is the son of Imana; Tusara is the god of the spirits of domestic service, "kobold"; Kwiguka is the god of lewdness; and there are many others (No. 19, pp. 216-220).

2. Cults

793 Each of these gods is worshipped by specific cults; each
787 has his specific priest whom he "enters" from time to time,
makes him "possessed," and lets him prophesy and perform
794 feats of magic. There are male and female priests. Allegedly
756 the female ones remain unmarried. Divine power and inspiration and the predisposition for being possessed are in most cases passed on from father to son or daughter in the same manner as the power to heal and to raise spirits which is held by the medicine men (*abafumu*).

793 In Urundi these priests are called *iviranga* (sing. *kiranga*); in Ruanda, *imandwa*; in Kisiba, *wabandwa*. Among the persons who dedicate themselves to the cult of gods and spirits, the *kiranga* most of all has the character and functions of the priest in our sense. He has the same name as the god Kiranga (derived from the word root *kira*, to put in order), and he is regarded both as the representative and as the ambulatory abode of the god himself. Men or women become *kiranga* either because their fathers or mothers were *kiranga* and transmitted this talent after their death or as a result of having been struck but not killed by lightning, the sign of the power of the god (No. 19, p. 253), or they are seized by the spirit and enter a state of
[828] manic possession at the Kubandwa celebration or the "sacred spear" ceremony (cf. p. 134). As soon as such happenings and conditions make their appearance, the person in question is declared a *kiranga* and has to officiate at the ceremonies of the holy spear which are performed on so many occasions (No. 19, pp. 462-463) and to mediate between humanity, suffering or filled with metaphysical urges, and the spirits and gods.

As has been mentioned before, in Ruanda the ecstatic
791 mediators of the world of the spirits are called *imandwa*. They are male or female, divinely chosen *mediums* of one of the principal spirits, i.e., either Riangombe, Binego, Mugassa, or others. Depending on this association with a particular god, they have to adorn themselves in a fashion different from the others. They have to express themselves by growling, hissing,

791 or howling. A special spirit language is also used. Usually
[198] they fall into a religious ecstasy after consuming copious
quantities of beer, and the spirit himself [124] will begin to
speak through them and utter prophesies and oracles. They are
[672] not responsible for anything they do while they are in this
spiritualistic-mediumistic state, even if they commit the worst
violations of law and good manners (No. 39, p. 100). Those
who are possessed make liberal use of this immunity, and one
may very well consider this one of the chief motives for the
whole institution of the imandwa cult.

In Unjoro the medicine men are also called abandwa. They "practice magic by killing animals or using certain herbs" (No. 9, p. 377).

Through the writings of A. Vix and B. Struck (Nos. 34 and 36) and Rehse (No. 31, pp. 107, 132), we have more precise knowledge from Kisiba of these persons who are called wabandwa and each of whom is possessed by a specific god. There, too, they differ depending on the nature of their god or demon, but all of them display their power "in hysterical fits caused by auto-suggestion." One of them may be an expert at making rain, another at curing the plague, a third may be proficient in agricultural matters, a fourth in the curing of cattle, etc. When the spirit seizes them, these divinely blessed persons put on a leopard skin, which the chief furnishes them, and a fur cap. Then they hang amulets from their necks and dance, holding long sticks and gourd rattles (Plate 54). However, they are not organized in a society.

In contrast, the ababandwa in Ruanda form a religious
794 cooperative or fraternity, and there are suggestions of this in
515 Urundi too. The people in question are not the divinely
possessed priests (kiranga) nor the magicians and medicine men
(abafumu) to whom we referred above, but pious men who
dedicate their lives to the god out of concern for their earthly
well-being and for the future salvation of their souls. They are all
organized in a fraternity, a cult community, bound by solemn
ceremonies, and they offer their sacrifices jointly.

Van der Burgt does not differentiate between the ababandwa, the wachwesi, the iviranga, the ivisjego, etc.

794 575 (No. 19, pp. 220, 292, 463,, 516), so it is impossible to obtain a clear picture of the nature of the Kubandwa cult of the Barundi from his writings. However, his accounts corespond essentially to the descriptions of the Imandwa secret society of Ruanda which have been given to us by Father Arnoux and the missionary Johanssen (No. 44 and No. 39, pp. 96-101). Thus, we can obtain many insights concerning Urundi from their writings. Quite correctly van der Burgt refers to similar cults of the "Watschwesi" (Batschwesi) fraternities in Ussuwi, Ussumbwa, Usindja, and Unjamwesi. In their nocturnal orgies have been preserved the last traces of religious cults and cult societies which still function openly as national institutions in Urundi, Uha, and Ruanda. The old relationship is also still recognizable in the hymns which are sung at such celebrations of the Watschwesi in Unjamwesi, Usindja, and in eastern Urundi. It is noteworthy that their lyrics are in the Old Kirundi language (No. 19, pp. 220, 463).

794 575 198 Father van Thiel, too, reports that in eastern Ussuwi at the ceremony of the Kubandwa, the admission to the society of the ababandwa, a ritual language called luchwesi is used. Father van Thiel lists a few dozen words (No. 24, p. 57), for example: bulege, bow; milasa, arrow; migasi, meat; muto, fire; masugunu, milk; muyara, head; manono, teeth; agawesa, eyes. It will have to be investigated whether this luchwesi is identical with Old Kirundi (cf. pp. 149, 332). Czekanowski gives a few specimens of the secret language of the babandwa in Ruanda (No. 48, pp. 316-317).

794 575 171 The following is known about the ababandwa in Ruanda. According to legend, the historical high priest Riangombe, before dying, expressed the desire [125] to be worshipped by the Batussi as well as by the Bahutu and the Batwa, without differentiation by caste. For this reason they all, without differentiation, dedicate themselves to him in the Kubandwa ceremony. It appears that this tradition merely means that the fraternity was extended to include the Batussi, for according to tradition

794 the fraternity of the ababandwa existed long before the historical
575 Riangombe. It is most probably an extremely old element
171 of Negro religion in East Africa which has been preserved in its pure form in Urundi, Uha, Ruanda, Karagwe, the eastern Congo (Bunjabungu) (No. 44, p. 291), and in a degenerate form in Unjamwesi and Ussumbwa. Many parallels to it can be found in the secret societies of the Bantu and Sudan Negroes of Loango, the Cameroons, Togo, the Gold Coast, etc. According
794 to van der Burgt, the Kubandwa cult in Urundi is part
575 of the Bantu religion of the Bahutu and has been taken over
114 by the Batussi. However, the king may not participate in the cult while the Batwa are very dedicated to it, particularly to that of Kiranga. In his dictionary van der Burgt defines the ababandwa as a "société religieuse et secrèt" (No. 19, pp. 220, 463), but according to a more recent written communication he regards the Kubandwa not as a real "secret society" but as a gathering for a mysterious cult act to which not everyone is admitted, for example, children. Captain von Langenn, however, regards it as a religious secret society in which old sorcerers play the leading role; admission to it follows special ceremonies. Missionary Johanssen, too, describes the analogous institution in Ruanda as a "society of the initiated or of mediums" who are in contact with the world of the spirits and join Riangombe after their death, in contrast to the laymen, the insigo, who are excluded from this community (No. 39, p. 96). Father van Thiel likewise refers to the initiated persons of the Kubandwa cult in east Ussuwi as a "société secrète" whose leader is the sorcerer (No. 24, p. 49).

[793] In Ruanda a high priest (kiranga) is the head of the
794 ababandwa. He is appointed by the king, but he may also be
644 dismissed by him. In Ruanda the king appoints the mpara as his
575 assistants. They are a group of ababandwa who enjoy the privilege of offering their sacrifices to Riangombe in the kraal of the king. It is noteworthy that they are all Bahutu. This is probably a concession to the old Bantu origin of the Kubandwa cult. These mpara, in addition to the Batwa who live at the king's court (see p. 13), are the bodyguards and the "guardians of the royal sleep," and much confidence is placed in them (No. 44, p. 292).

The main reasons for joining the Kubandwa are usually
794 the following: the invitation of a magician; the wish to be
575 cured of a sickness or to be rescued from a difficult situation
caused by evil spirits; the intention of obtaining a privileged
position of various material advantages of joining the cult
society; the fulfillment of a promise or vow made to one's ancestors;
the carrying on of a family tradition, etc. Thus, we have
motives in all of which the positive principle of utility strongly
predominates.

The consequence of joining the Kubwanda [sic] is that
the umubandwa ceases to be a member of common humanity;
he now belongs to an exalted adoptive family which protects
and promotes its members. We might regard it as a kind of
Free Masons' Lodge. Through solemn vows the newly admitted
members pledge themselves not to betray or violate the secrets
of the Kubwanda. If a member should nevertheless do so, the
[789] abandwa curse him, wishing all sufferings on him, and
Riangombe carries out the malediction (No. 44, p. 294).

[126] The ceremonies of the Kubandwa, the admission
796 of new members to the society, are accompanied by a great
794 number of formalities; they are identical, however, for Batussi,
575 Bahutu, and Batwa. To the best of my knowledge they correspond
in their main outlines to the procedure that is customary
in Ruanda which is as follows. First the aspirant (nsigo) informs
a sorcerer (umufumu) of his desire to be admitted to the society.
Then the abafumu require weeks and months to obtain the spirits'
[787] assent by performing all kinds of sorcery: they listen to their
"inner voices," they observe floating pieces of butter and wood,
they read the entrails of chickens, sheep, water-wagtails, etc.
(No. 44, p. 530). During this entire period the candidate is
expected to bring the umufumu a series of presents: sheep, goats,
beans, iron hoes, even cattle (required of the Batussi). At the
same time bananas, meat, pombe beer, and other delicacies
must be offered as sacrifices to the spirits in the little sacrificial
huts. At last the spirits agree to the admission of the candidate.
Then the abafumu choose from their circle a sponsor whose duty
it is to introduce the candidate to the ababandwa. The real

794 admission to the order by the society's members is then enacted
575 in the kraal of the candidate. It is accompanied by innumerable
796 formulas, ministrations, invocations of Riangombe, Painting of face and body, eating, drinking, dressing up, handling the sacred spear, alternate chants, and the rattling of bells and gourds. Each of these acts has a symbolic meaning and reference (No. 44, pp. 539-558).

At the end of the ceremony the candidate's sponsor puts
[292] on the insignia of Riangombe (leopard skin, headdress with a cow's tail, etc.) and thereby turns into Riangombe himself who now in his own person performs the ceremony of the admission of the neophyte by a kind of examination and instruction. However, the novice is initiated to no profound secrets or "esoteric wisdom," as in the mysteries of antiquity, but only to ritual formalities, and though the novice is required to make a solemn vow that he will keep the secrets of the Kubandwa, this refers merely to these superficial ceremonies, for, like the other ababandwa, he knows of nothing else. In conclusion, the newly admitted member once more offers presents to Riangombe and to the ababandwa assisting him. Then Riangombe confers
[551] a new name on the novice by which he will be exclusively known in the future; in Ruanda, for example, the name may be "the little one who smashes the stone," or "the one who swallows cream," or "the one who steals from his mother," or "the one who rids the dogs of fleas" (No. 44, p. 870). After this the neophyte is a regular member of the society. Then the ababandwa, decorated with the insignia of their spirits, march through the countryside collecting food which is finally squandered in an eating and drinking bout (No. 44, p. 110). The newly admitted umubandwa then has to give public demonstration of his newly acquired power. A Munjaruanda who finds himself in some difficult situation asks him to help him appeal to Riangombe or some other god or protective spirit (for example, Kiranga, Masira, Binego, Kagoro, Mugassa). This is done by ceremoniously imploring the god to grant the request and by slaughtering in honor of the god a sterile cow, an old steer, or a ram, which is consumed by the ababandwa of the entire region (No. 44, p. 123 ff.). [127] On this occasion, as at all cattle sacrifices,

794 the horns of the slaughtered cattle are hung up near the huts or
575 piled up or half buried so that only the tips protrude. Any visitor
796 to Musinga's reception hut in Nyanza notices such half-buried
horns near the entrance.

This act of assistance by means of prayer, which must be successful except when it is opposed by "superior powers," marks the conclusion of the long ceremony of the Kubandwa.

Through Father Gassldinger we know a little about the gatherings of the ababandwa in Urundi and of their rituals, chants, and dances (No. 45, pp. 309-314). In Urundi these ceremonies are in most cases for the god Kiranga who plays a far more important role in Urundi than does Riangombe who is predominately worshipped in Ruanda. In Urundi Kiranga is often identified with Riangombe (see p. 121). Thus, in the rites described by Father Gassldinger not Riangombe but Kiranga is the master and protector of the secret society of the ababandwa.

If a prosperous Murundi family has had sickness and other kinds of misfortune during the course of a year, it will celebrate a Kubandwa festival after the grain harvest as soon as the storage bins are full and the brewing of beer has begun. The festival is for Kiranga, and all the ababandwa of the region are invited to attend. First of all, an umubandwa friend at whose kraal the most recent ceremony took place is asked to officiate as hierophant, i.e., as the representative of Kiranga. This
[785] umubandwa prepares himself for the office by isolation and
fasting. As soon as he begins to growl and howl in his hut at night, it is a sign that he is possessed by Kiranga, and the celebration can start. One after another the invited ababandwa, men and women, assemble in the courtyard of the host. Kiranga's spirit hut is decorated with young fig branches, freshly cut grass is neatly spread around the hut, and in front of it is placed a block of wood or a low footstool. One of the huge, three-footed beer jugs which are used at the feast of Kiranga is placed next to the footstool. A large, plaited receptacle containing herbs and leaves with which to work magic is placed in the center of the
[302] courtyard. In the meantime the ababandwa paint broad and
[301] narrow stripes of white-yellow clay across their faces; the women
also decorate themselves by tying leaves and bands to their hair and arms.

796 and arms. Everyone is armed with long-stemmed rattle gourds
794 or iron bells. There is complete silence.

575 Then, with slow steps, Kiranga himself emerges from
[531] the hut. His face is painted with clay so as to be hardly recognizable; his eyes are closed. With both fists he clasps a long lance, the sacred spear. He is accompanied by four assistants (ivisjego); one of them is the master of the house, the host of celebration. Kiranga solemnly takes his seat on the footstool while the ivisjego squat at his side. At this moment a procession of ababandwa begins to walk toward him. From the plaited receptacle mentioned above they take tufts of grass, then kneel down and place them in front of Kiranga while calling to him: "Kiranga umwami wi Barundi!" (Kiranga, you are the king of the Barundi). After returning to their places, they begin shaking their rattle gourds in a certain rhythm, strictly observing the beat and at the same time stamping the ground in the same rhythm. A leader of the choir then begins to sing the old Kubandwa hymn:

[539] [128] Hai yeye wohima ye!
Abadandwa n'ivisjego!
Hiye yee, he he, eee hiye,
Ruheye ye, Riangombe ye, etc.

Its refrain "Hai yeye wohima ye" is chanted by everybody (which is quite similar to what has been reported by van der Burgt, No. 19, p. 292).

The hymns, the invocations of Kiranga, the maledictions,
796 and all other utterances which are part of the ceremony are not
794 spoken here in the colloquial Kirundi but "in a mangled gibberish
575 which only Kiranga and his subjects can understand." The word
198 insoga (beer) becomes inganda; amata (milk) is changed to anufuro (foam); amukobwa (girl) to amaschenge; kubita (to beat) to kubomagura (to throw mortar at); etc. This special Kirundi terminology is also used by the religious secret societies of the neighboring peoples and appears to consist mainly of elements of Old Kirundi which otherwise has been almost forgotten. (Cf. p. 148).

796 As soon as the men have finished their frenetic singing and
794 dancing, individual participants in the celebration step before
575

796
794 Kiranga, take a bow, clap their hands (the standard greeting
575 for the king, also in Ruanda and Kisiba), and then present all
[576] kinds of requests to him. One desires that his cattle be cured; another wants a husband; a third wants a wife; etc. Kiranga promises that their wishes will be granted if they give him generous presents of beer and cattle.

Now the dance begins under the direction of a female
796 leader. "The arms are stretched out to the sides, and the
794 flattened palms are gently and gracefully moved at the wrist
575 joints. Smiling, the rows of dancing girls move toward each
535 other with their heads swaying. Their gesticulations become gradually more lively. The entire body is inclined forward, sideways, and backward in incredible contortions which are accompanied by staggering steps. The dance excites the participants and the onlookers. In a breathy voice the girl leading the dance improvises a chant of praise to Kiranga; the others take up the refrain just as softly. The men's small drums and rattles accompany the dance softly and covertly. In the meantime the musicians lustily partake freely of the beer. Finally, when the girls are tired, they return to their places amidst wild applause. Kiranga, however, also is tired, and he names a successor, a woman, who is greeted with lively applause" (No. 45, 1913).

The women are usually particularly skillful in this role.
796
794 The one who has been chosen as successor places on her head,
575 which has been painted red, a kind of crown made of shells.
786 Her face twitches in nervous excitement. It is a gruesome sight. After she has twirled in a circle for a few times with her arms outstretched, she seats herself on Kiranga's footstool and suddenly screams in a hoarse voice filled with hatred: "All those who have not come shall die of hunger." This is greeted with shouts of approbation by the hundreds of participants who are intoxicated with beer and excitement. Again the woman screams: "All White men and their friends shall die by the spear." The whole circle repeats these maledictions jubilantly. Further: "All enemies are to perish with swollen

796 bellies" (i.e., like sick cattle). And so it continues with in-
794 numerable wild curses. When the storm has subsided, individ-
575 ual supplicants once more stumble forward in front of the
786 enthroned woman, pay profuse respects to the "king," and request his help in opposing witches and sorcerers who have harmed them. The woman promises this, and with the voice of a fury she calls for a pledge of faith to Kiranga. [129] The ivisjego jump up, and under their leadership and accompanied by the noise of all the instruments and with a thousand curses and screams, a dance is performed, such that in the end everyone is bathed in sweat.

A wild drinking bout by the men and women follows, while they repeatedly scream to Kiranga sitting on the footstool: "Remain on the ruler's throne forever, King of Urundi; Kiranga is king." After that the frantic dancing in rows and the noise continue until the woman representing Kiranga becomes thirsty and surrenders her place to a male successor who is then the host. Naturally, he also is enthroned with tremendous jubilation. In this fashion the drinking and dancing, the invocations of Kiranga, and the curses against enemies continue through the entire night until early morning. Then suddenly the whole group breaks up, and in single file, rattling their bells, they run to the nearest stream where they all wash themselves. With this, the celebration comes to an end, and everyone goes home. From this moment on, none of the participants of the celebration may show any sign of recognizing his companions. The whole Kubandwa must be kept secret. However, the host who last "played" Kiranga belongs from now on among those most privileged and divinely blessed.

796 Since much beer is drunk at these cult festivals and at all
794 other celebrations and it is only available after harvest time,
from July to the end of October, all festivals occur exclusively
575 in these months. Every night, especially when there is moon-
273 light, one can hear the noise of drinkers and dancers from the banana groves. Usually they are mere drinking bouts which resound into the night and have no further importance, but often they are cult gatherings of the abandandwa in which only members of the fraternity may participate.

796 members of the fraternity may participate. The fraternity
794 of the ababandwa admits for religious purposes men, women,
575 Batussi, Bahutu, and Batwa whenever they seem suitable (that is, if they are able to pay the high cost of admission and have influence). This fraternity is also of great social importance in
794 these lands where deep cleavages divide the society as a re-
575 sult of the three-fold racial division into Batussi, Bahutu, and
569 Batwa, the contrasts between the conquering caste and the subjugated group, and the rigid clan organization. In contrast to these distinctions, the order of the ababandwa, who are united in the Riangombe and Kiranga cult, acts as a social equalizer by protecting and promoting its members regardless of the race, caste, or clan they belong to.

756 There is another group of persons who maintain close relations with the world of the spirits and are endowed with
791 supernatural powers by them: the sorcerers, medicine men, magicians, who might all be described by the collective term abafumu (sing., umufumu). This is a Bantu word which is also used in Unjamwesi. It describes someone who uses magical remedies and amulets (No. 19, p. 461). The abafumu are medical practitioners who attempt to ward off misfortune and disease by using supernatural powers and remedies since, after all, every ailment or accident is due to the supernatural influence of evil spirits (see "Medicine," p. 140).

756 Without doubt the umufumu is the most powerful person in his community. Very often he is more powerful than the king's official, the mutwale. "He is, at the same time, physician and apothecary, conjurer, counselor and priest, a beloved friend of the family, and a universal helper in need. It is his privilege to discover the designs which Imana and Kiranga [130] and his companions have concerning the destiny of poor, ordinary mortals. The eyes of the umufumu are sharper and better penetrate the veil of the supernatural, to him the invisible god reveals his wishes, he is his favorite and mediator .... The modern European regards all phenomena as natural and uses natural techniques to control them; the Murundi, on the other hand, regards everything except water and grass as a manifestation of the supernatural which must be treated

756 accordingly" (No. 45, 1913, p. 46). As a rule the craft of the umufumu is passed on from father to son, but it is also possible for extraordinary events or experiences suddenly to lead a Murundi, who until then has not felt any inclination to be an umufumu, to practice sorcery (kuragusa), for example, if he is unexpectedly saved from death. Then people say: "You have been chosen by Kiranga, and you must help us and mediate between him and us. Go and find the necessary objects, we shall come." If someone has thus been elevated to the status of the abafumu without any of his doing, if for many years he practices his craft and is sought after by numerous suffering people, success quite understandably often causes a kind of auto-suggestion and self-deception. Gradually the umufumu begins to believe more and more in his own power. He does after all believe in the magic of Kiranga, and besides, quite often he uses real and effective medicines in his cures. However, pious belief often goes hand in hand with a liberal dose of deliberate deception.

751
789 Father Gassldinger gives an excellent description of the versatility of the abafumu in inventing and manufacturing their amulets and also of their function as magicians which affects every situation in the life of a Murundi: "The little stranger has hardly arrived on this earth when his brother, uncle, or nephew runs to the umufumu and asks him to come to the hut and to bring along his isato, the magic wand. The umufumu does not have to be asked twice. He puts a large number of peculiarly shaped pieces of wood and bones into a bag and immediately appears at the side of the newborn infant. The family may be rich, and in this case a great show must be made to earn the generous reward which is expected. First, he spends quite a while practicing all kinds of tricks. When he has finished with this, he solemnly takes the real iviheko from his bag: finger-length pieces of wood covered with butter and red earth and with a hole in the middle; then a few seeds of a sacred tree adroitly wrapped in twisted straws; a little antelope horn filled with ocherous earth into which are stuck small pieces

751 789 of wood and cat's hair; two leppard claws; a piece of snake skin covered with soot; a little box made of dried pumpkin rind containing a piece of umbilical cord and hair of a newborn infant mixed with bean flour and ashes of the bones of wild boars, etc. He hangs these 20 to 30 small amulets around the infant's neck, and another such string with at least a dozen of these amulets is tied around the child's loins: one amulet against intestinal worms, another as protection against lightning, another against diarrhea, the next against snake bite, another one against skin diseases, and the last one to help the child become fat and strong. The umufumu breathes on the child, flails his arms convulsively, rattles his bells violently, and blesses and sanctifies the individual ivîheko, for the Barundi do not believe in a power in these sticks, hair, and horns in themselves but only in the blessing and anointing which they have received from the umufumu. The potency of this blessing depends on the power of the umufumu and on the rarity of the substratum, the vehicle of this sanctification. There is no other Negro tribe which believes as firmly in the ivîheko or which wears them in such great numbers as the Barundi.

789 "After the child has grown somewhat older, he begins to make crude bows and wooden arrows for himself and to practice shooting at birds. At that stage his parents seek even stronger ivîheko for him, especially the horn of a gazelle filled with powder and containing a few iron points. This is supposed to impart strength for hunting, to make for good marksmanship, and to deflect the missiles of the enemy. When the boy has reached the age when he wants to find himself a wife, there is another series of ivîheko to help him. After the marriage, he safeguards his wife's faithfulness and the speedy arrival of healthy [131] offspring by using still other amulets. In disease and misfortune and especially when he feels death approaching, the Murundi seeks rest and comfort in sleep caused by using particularly strong ivîheko. On a journey the Murundi wears his own amulets; he sticks others in the four corners of his field; some hang over his bed. There are more amulets hidden near the entrance to the hut, and particularly strong and powerful ones are buried in the earth next to the fireplace. Sick cows are supposed to be cured

789 by iviheko. They also neutralize the evil influence of personal enemies. When at war, the night before the battle, the Murundi sleeps on his beloved iviheko, and he is laid to rest in the grave together with his iviheko.

"Once the body of a Murundi has been made invulnerable, it is still necessary to secure his property. Another amulet is fastened to the spear, or a special stick bought from the umufumu is carried in the same hand as the spear, or a magic sign may be scratched into the iron of the spear. An additional amulet is fastened to the top of the bowstring. Inside the hut a pile of amulets is buried in the ground near the entrance, one amulet is fastened above the entrance, but the most powerful and effective ones are placed near the three hearth stones. There are other amulets used in the fields, against hail and storm, against locusts and other calamities. Very frequently one may find them also on roads, especially on those leading to the banana groves or directly to the hut. If one is careless, he may easily stumble over slabs of wood colored ochre-red, protruding about five centimeters from the ground, and that, after all, is their purpose: a person with evil intent is expected to stumble and fall on the road, thus revealing himself to be an umurosi (malicious witches or wizards)." (No. 45.)

791 The magic power of the umufumu is handed down in
293 families, not only by blood relationship but also by transfer of the
424 insignia characteristic of the umufumu, which consist chiefly
756 in a leopard skin, a headdress made of a cow's tail (Plate 54) and goat hair, a gourd rattle, a stick with charms, a certain way of painting the body and the face with light-colored clay and fat, etc. (No. 19, p. 461).

791 The abafumu of the Batwa enjoy a special reputation.
756 They are feared by the Barundi because of their strong magic powers, but they are also consulted for cures. The supreme head of all medicine men, however, resides in Uha (No. 19, p. 462). He lives in the northern district of Ujungu and was formerly called Kawango, the name of one of the spirits of the interlacustrine region. He was probably the medium of this god.

791 This chief sorcerer was a kind of Delphic Oracle for the entire
756 interlacustrine region. He enjoyed such a high reputation that
the kings of Urundi and Ruanda often sent missions to him to
obtain the benefit of his counsel. The same is also frequently
reported of the rulers of Usindja (No. 35, pp. 498, 506). As
far as the sorcerers of Urundi, Kisiba, Ussumbwa, and other
adjoining areas are concerned, we know that at times they
travel to Uha in order to learn higher magic from the famous
abafumu who live there. On the other hand, there are Baha
medicine men who are employed as "court sorcerers" by various
rulers of the interlacustrine region. The influential court
sorcerer of the Urundi king, Mutaga, is also a Muhutu from
Uha. His name is Kiburua (Ndandi), and he is well provided
for by the king (report by von Langenn). It appears that all
these Baha sorcerers are Bahutu, Bantu. This again is connected
with the fact that the Bantu is by nature inclined toward mysticism
and that the Bantu population is much older than the
Bahima immigrants. There is no sorcerers' school in Urundi
or Ruanda, where one might learn the secret teachings and
practices from a "Council of Wise Men," but, as has been
mentioned above, power and wisdom is passed on from one
generation to the other within the family. Whoever has inherited
these attributes and wishes to augment them must try
to imitate the techniques of other magicians.

[132] As is evident from the examples reported by Father
756 Gassldinger which have been listed above, the functions of the
umufumu are extremely varied. They encompass all conceivable
physical ailments of man and animal, and the umufumu applies
innumerable natural and supernatural techniques for assuaging
and curing them. In the opinion of the Barundi, however, the
natural remedies are not successful merely because of their
natural characteristics -- for what does he know about physical
and chemical effects, about the physiology of the body, or
about causality, etc. -- but their effects stem from supernatural
[759] powers imparted to them by the umufumu. They believe that
sickness, when not a case of direct poisoning, is usually caused
by the supernatural influence of evil spirits (abarosi). It is, of
756 course, true that the Murundi, for his domestic use, applies
757 a great number of simple remedies which have been passed down

756 757 to him for generations, but this is done before the "case" becomes serious and requires the attention of an umufumu. These remedies are in a class by themselves (p. 140), and at this point we are only discussing sorcery, magic remedies and their application.

755 Regardless of the kind of remedy which is to be applied, the Murundi first tests its effectiveness by external application. Even those remedies which can only be of help if taken internally are first strapped or spread on the ailing part of the body since they are expected to have a magical power similar to an amulet. Even European medicines meant to be taken internally, such as pills, powders, or tablets, are first wrapped in a leaf by the Murundi and tied to the sick organ. Only if he does not feel any improvement after that, will he finally make up his mind to swallow or drink them.

751 789 There are countless numbers of true amulets (iviheko) which are made of various substances and in various shapes. They are always worn suspended on the body in a small compact form (Plate 55). We have already listed quite a number of these above (p. 130). Usually they are suspended from the neck on strings, but frequently they are also tied to the head, to the belly, or to the genitalia, etc. At times each one hangs on a separate piece of string, at other times dozens of different kinds are strung up on a single piece of string, similar to a necklace. The material used for making the amulet is not as important as the sorcery through which the umufumu imparts supernatural powers to the object, but in most cases the amulet consists of a piece of wood three to six centimeters long, if for no other reason than that it is easiest to produce and to carry. One may also see claws or hooves of leopards, cats, goats, and sheep, the bones of birds, pieces of snake skin or the fur of wild animals, dried fruit, mussels, pebbles with unusual shapes, but, most frequently, powder from various types of soil, ashes of burnt bones or of the horns of animals, and flour made of various kinds of grain (No. 19, p. 29). Usually these powdery charms are poured into a small cattle, goat, or antelope horn whose opening is then closed with wax. Hollowed out fruit

751 rinds are also used for this purpose; often they are then artfully
789 decorated with pieces of wire or strings of beads which are
twisted around them. Depending on the magic power which
the umufumu has imparted to the amulet, there are protective
amulets supposed to help against certain accidents and maladies,
against the malice of evil spirits, and against witchcraft used
by persons endowed with magic powers. There are also lucky
amulets for bringing about good harvests, healthy cattle, safe
journeys, strong and healthy babies, etc. Rich persons who
[556] can afford the luxury of many expensive amulets wear them
around their necks in such numbers that their entire chests are
covered with them, reminding one of the cascades of medals
on the chests of European diplomats. Of course, the most
[554] amulets are worn by the great chiefs and Batussi batwale who
are usually feared and respected as medicine men themselves.

The following description gives an example. "Leaning on an enormously long staff and armed with a powerful spear, the old chief Rumonge walks among his people like a simple citizen. There is nothing to set him apart from the others except the innumerable amulets which decorate his neck, chest, back, his hips, arms, and legs. He is known as an extraordinarily powerful sorcerer which greatly increases the fear and respect with which he is regarded by his subjects. And his words are made more telling by the use which he or his aides make of his heavy club" (Kreuz und Schwert [Cross and Sword], 1900, p. 70).

The Batwa produce most of the amulets used by the
[791] Barundi, but the other abafumu are also very productive in
manufacturing amulets, and, of course, this is one of their most
lucrative sources of income.

754 The abafumu have another important task: to discover
791 and to put out of action persons skilled in witchcraft who in various
ways bring harm and misfortune on their fellow citizens. These
witches and necromancers, called abarosi (sing., umurosi), are

754 the first to be considered responsible if a person becomes sick
791 or dies, if a storm devastates the fields, if the cattle meet
with an accident or are attacked by epidemics, when women
remain barren, if infants are aborted, if thefts are committed,
etc. The abarosi frequently employ poison, which is popular
both in Urundi and in Ruanda (No. 48, p. 319), but in most
cases they use their magic powers. The abarosi obtain magic
power over people or over their cattle and other possessions by
appropriating a little piece of a person's body, some hair,
the paring of a fingernail, sputum, semen or urine, or some
cattle dung, straw from the hut, or soil from the fields. All
of these things give the abarosi power over a part of the person's
"soul." This explains the great reluctance with which a
Murundi, like all East African Negroes, allows a stranger to
take pictures of himself, submits to physical measurement, or
gives his own name or that of his family. If the medicines and
protective amulets prove to be ineffective against the black
magic of the abarosi, the umufumu will close in on the malefactor,
the umurosi. By inspiration and by questioning his magic rattles
and other apparatus, the umufumu's suspicion is directed to certain
persons, who in most cases are old women! They are accused,
[695] arrested by the mutwale, and if there is no other proof, the
umufumu subjects them to a kind of ordeal in which fire, poison,
or boiling water is used. In most cases the verdict is unfavorable
to the accused (No. 19, p. 405). In petty cases the person found
[688] guilty receives physical punishment or has to pay a fine; in
serious ones they are simply beaten to death and thrown in the
bush (see above, p. 97).

The umufumu's power of divination may also be directed
791 to other things if the party concerned so desires and is prepared
789 to pay the price. Through special ceremonies the umufumu
brings rain to the fields, or if there is too much rain, he may
stop it (No. 19, p. 443). For rain-making, which is so important
for agriculture, there are special experts, the abavurati. However,
their number is decreasing since every failure is severely
punished by the batwale (No. 45, 1913), p. 50).

791 The umufumu also tries to predict the future and to re-
787 veal unknown facts and events, i.e., to prophecy. This is
done with a great display of simple-minded hocus-pocus.
Many small objects are poured on the ground from various
calabashes. From their accidental arrangement a situation is
explained and its future development prophesied. The Barundi
believe that the predictions of the abafumu are in most cases
correct. This may not be too difficult if the magician is an
intelligent man.

[134] The umufumu, the medicine man, must under no
791 circumstance be confused with the monster who practices
754 witchcraft, the umurosi. The difference between the two may
be characterized in the following manner. According to
Barundi belief the abafumu are the benevolent, helpful medi-
cine men who can free a person from the malediction of the
evil sorcerer, the umurosi. The abafumu are the official, pro-
tectors against sorcery, but the abarosi are the evil sorcerers
who occasionally put a spell on people. In Ruanda and in the
southernmost Bahima state, Ufipa, the same names are used for
the good sorcerers (mufumu) and for the evil ones (murosi or
mulosi) (No. 47, pp. 179, 183-186; No. 48, p. 319). In
reality the umufumu, who is usually an adroit and intelligent
person, builds his position on gullibility and fraud. The perse-
[578] cuted umurosi is usually an innocent person who has either in-
curred the suspicion of his fellow citizens because of his eccentri-
city, or more frequently his good fortune and prosperity have
excited other people's envy. However, the greatest and most
791 famous abafumu are almost without exception astute criminals
661 who will not shrink from any atrocity. The main reason for
628 their evil influence and great power is the fact that they are
always in league with the chiefs, and through their activity as
medical practitioners and counselors they are thoroughly in-
formed about all family matters. The entire nation suffers
under the terrorism of the great medicine men who are allied
with the chiefs. Nobody dares avenge these atrocities on the
evildoers themselves, for if one of them were killed or executed

791 as the result of a denunciation before the German Resident, the
661 entire kin group of the chief or the umufumu would be bound by
628 law of the vendetta, and they would take terrible vengeance on
the family of the "traitor" (No. 45, 1913, pp. 83-84).

Neither the umufumu nor the umubandwa is invited to
793 officiate at the real cult acts of the Barundi people, at "divine
796 services." These are a matter for the priest, the kiranga. Although
among the Barundi one's entire life is simply a series
of performances to fulfill religious requirements which affect
all matters of existence, they nevertheless assign particularly
great importance to two rituals. For this reason the kiranga has
to officiate at them. One is the ceremony of the "sacred spear,"
the other is the act of erecting the small huts for ancestors and
spirits, ivigabiro, akararo, ivitabo (No. 19, pp. 498-499).

The ceremony of the sacred spear is enacted at all the
796 important events in the life of the Murundi, whenever protection
against evil spirits is especially desirable. The father of the family is host at the ceremony and pays the officiating kiranga; relatives, friends, and neighbors act as assistants. The ritual takes place, for example, at the birth of a child, particularly at the birth of twins, if there is a serious sickness in the family, at weddings, joyous celebrations, funerals, etc. (No. 19, p. 516). Thus, it is a ceremony which may be sponsored by any Murundi who is in a position to afford the expense. This is not the cult gathering of the ababandwa, described on p. 124 above, which also takes place under the direction of the kiranga and is of a similar nature, but it is only performed by the secret society of the ababandwa.

778 Even the ordinary spear of the Murundi is considered sacred
796 in a certain sense since it is the symbol of paternal power and
the authority of the ancestors. Consequently the "sacred spear"
[411] guarded by the priest is the object of great devotion. In the
[776] point of this spear lives the spirit Kiranga, [135] or Indagarra,
or Riangombe, depending on whether the spear has been dedicated to one or the other of the spirits. In most cases it is
Kiranga. The shape of the spear is like that of any other, but
796 one half of its blade is unpolished and black. If someone

796 expresses the wish that the "ceremony of the sacred spear" be celebrated for his benefit, he invites his friends and the priest (kiranga) of the district along with the latter's spear. The kiranga arrives with two or three male or female assistants (ivisjego), and all the participants in the celebration take their seats in the hut. The priest sits in the middle holding the sacred spear in his hand and wearing a cap made of leopard skin with its tail falling down his back. Each of the assistants holds in his hand a bifurcated branch to whose ends are tied little calabashes, some of which are filled with grains or pebbles. These rattles are shaken in a certain rhythm, and to their accompaniment the entire gathering sings -- in a minor key and andante -- a traditional hymn in the old Kirundi language (see p. 148) which is for the most part unintelligible. The hymn calls on the congregation to praise and glorify the spirits, Kiranga, Rugondo, Riangombe, and others (No. 19, pp. 517 and 292). While they are singing, each person gathers a little straw from the ground and places it as a sacrifice in front of the sacred spear, clapping his hands as a sign of homage, and then directs to the spirit Kiranga, residing in the spear point, a number of requests expressing the wishes of the host. After that the whole party leaves the house with a chant and proceeds to the little spirit hut (ikitabo) close by. Its floor is then covered with fresh straw or grass. After they have returned to the house, the whole gathering is sprinkled with water by the priest (symbol of purification?). At the end all join in drinking the contents of a large jar of "sacrificial beer." This concludes the ceremony, the priest receives his fee (beads, grain, barkcloth, etc.), and everyone goes home. In Ruanda and Uha the ceremony of the sacred spear is celebrated in a similar fashion (No. 19, p. 518).

796 There is another ritual at which the priest is regularly asked
778 to officiate: the ceremony of erecting and consecrating the little
346 spirit and sacrifice huts (Plate 18a). There are two different types
of these huts: some are dedicated to the gods, Imana, Kiranga, and Riangombe, and are open to the public (ikitabo, akararo); the others are dedicated to the family ancestors and are private (ikigabiro).

778 The public cult sites used for common worship of the gods
[821] are erected wherever lightning has struck the ground, either
where it injured or killed a person or a head of cattle or where
it has just struck the ground. Lightning is regarded as sent by
the god Imana himself (No. 19, p. 253). At such a place a
circular piece of ground, two to three meters in diameter, is
leveled and covered with straw. Manioc and fig branches are
planted around it. Then, celebrating the ceremony of the
sacred spear, the kiranga plants in the middle of it a shoot from
a banana or a fig tree which is regarded as the temporary residence
of the god, Imana-Rikiranga-Riangombe. Every passerby
[782] puts a little tuft of dry grass in front of the young tree in homage
to the god (see grass greeting, p. 95). Sick people are brought
to this site so that they may ask the god to grant them recovery
(No. 19, p. 564). This kind of homage is also supposed to be
helpful when asking for rain for the fields and herds. Usually
[346] some small grass huts are also erected at or near the sacrificial
site; in these huts food and drink are sacrificed to the god. Often,
however, such huts are absent.

778 [136] The second type of cult and sacrifice huts at whose
consecration the kiranga must participate is the private sacrifice
346 huts (ivigabiro), dedicated to the spirits of the dead
782 (imisimu or abasimu). Often, however, a sacrifice is also
offered to the god Kiranga in one of these little private huts;
it is then called akararo ka rugabo, i.e., the great master's
humble quarters for the night (No. 46, p. 18). These little
huts are erected inside the kraal next to the residential huts.
In most cases their shape resembles that of the residential huts,
but they are only one half to one meter high (Plate 18a). They
are always constructed in a careless fashion. In fact, often a
few branches or some bundles of straw or reed, inserted in the
ground and tied together at the top in the shape of an arch, are
considered sufficient. A little straw is spread underneath, and
on it a few implements are placed as a sacrificial offering,
for example, a piece of imanga wood which is used for amulets,
a piece of bottle gourd, shaped like a bowl, which is used as a
container for food, an old pot as a receptacle for beer, an old
tobacco pipe, etc. In some areas of Urundi, for example, in

778 Usige, these little huts are constructed so as to have two en-
346 trances, the pot inside has two spouts, the ritual tobacco pipe
[782] has two bowls; all this is probably because they are supposed to
serve both the spirit of the ancestor and his wife (see Fig. 11).
Van der Burgt interprets this custom as being related to the
supposed bisexuality of the manes (No. 19, p. 564), yet I
could not find any proof of this.

[769] The Murundi is rarely satisfied with only one ikigabiro;
usually there are three or four of them dedicated to the spirits of the three or four deceased family members who were closest to him. At one time I actually counted no less than eight such sacrificial huts in one kraal.

The huts are consecrated by the kiranga performing the
778 ceremony of the sacred spear. While the ceremony is in
782 progress, the family members eat several kinds of food next
796 to the little "votive chapel." This is done in honor of the an-
769 cestor to whom the hut is dedicated. They deposit a small
amount of each dish and a little beer in the ikigabiro. Later this offering will be repeated each time that the ceremony of the sacred spear is celebrated for some reason or other by the family concerned. Not only millet gruel and pombe beer are offered; among prosperous families the sacrifice also includes the meat of chickens, goats, rams, and even beef.

According to the belief of the Barundi, the ancestral
769 spirit either chooses to make the hut erected in his honor his
782 permanent residence or at least he uses it as his temporary
778 quarters in which case he will then appear as a ghost in the
775 neighborhood. The Murundi believe that the food offerings
are eaten by the spirit when in reality they have been eaten by dogs, rats, or birds. If the food remains untouched, the Murundi finds comfort in the thought that the incorporeal spirit has enjoyed only the incorporeal parts of the food, beer, and tobacco.

778 According to van der Burgt, there exists, in addition to
769 the two cult sites mentioned above, a third type which, however,
825 appears to be extremely rare. These are closed huts, two to
775 three meters high, found in the neighborhood of the sacred
groves close to the old royal kraals. The one seen by van der

778 Burgt was dedicated to the manes of King Ntare (No. 19,
769 p. 565) and allegedly was the residence of a large python which
825 was the receptacle of the spirit of the dead king. The snake
775 was protected and fed by its special guards. In Ruanda and Kisiba I personally heard of such official sacred monuments. They also were inhabited by a large snake which was regarded as the vehicle of the king's soul and which was regularly fed with milk by the priest. (Cf. also No. 31, pp. 107, 130.) [137] As a rule, however, no such consecrated huts are found in the sacred groves.

The sacred grove (imana, iteka, intatemwa) as such is
778 regarded as an object of deepest devotion by the Murundi (No. 19, p. 77). There are no woods in most of Urundi, and hardly any trees exist in Ruanda. Consequently, the small groups of tall fig trees towering above the ridges of hills here and there are a very characteristic feature of the scenery (Plate 29a). Everywhere they indicate the site where at one time stood the residence, the kraal (lugo, urugo), of a king or chief and where the former master himself is probably buried. After the death of the owner, his homestead is abandoned, the huts fall to pieces, and only the fig trees that formed the fence of the kraal continue to grow unhindered; from that time on, nobody may
[784] touch them or even cut them down. Like the onetime place of residence, these trees are regarded as sinister and sacred (imana, taboo). It is not simply pious feeling for the deceased which protects these trees of his former dwelling, for such gentle feelings are unknown to the Murundi. It is rather fear of the wrath of the spirits of the dead from whose graves the trees may have grown. This sentiment prevents the people from using the
[825] trees for much needed fuel. All kinds of animals live in the thicket,
[775] among them the snake which the spirit of the deceased has chosen as his new residence. Sometimes the priest of the district offers a sacrifice to the spirit by depositing food and milk for the snake.

532 The Barundi do not have any reproductions of their spirits,
776 demons and gods in the form of sculptured or carved figures or as drawings. This should not be regarded as proof of their lack

532 of artistic creativity which is also typical of all their other
776 cultural possessions. The same is also true of most other
East Africans. The Barundi represent their imaginary spirits
only in their dances (see p. 127). They decorate them with
[781] certain symbolic emblems and pay homage to them, motivated
by a mixture of fear and calculation.

Finally, religious concepts and emotions are also re-
784 flected in many "superstitious" customs with which the life of
262 the Barundi abounds. Most of these customs are designed to
repel evil spirits. Those which deal with diet, care of the body,
etc., frequently seem to the European observer to be hygienic
precautions. There are many rules and taboos (umusiro) pertaining to food. As has been mentioned above, all Barundi
may eat beef, although it is quite a rare treat for them
(p. 46). Only the Batwa eat goat meat; a Muhutu will eat it
only in rare cases. Nobody, however, is permitted to eat
chicken meat, venison, or the flesh of numerous other animals
which for various reasons are considered impure. Also, there are
the food taboos on the totem animals of the different clans (p.
103). Few people eat mutton, and only the tribes living on
Lake Tanganyika eat fish. Blacksmiths must abstain from eating pork (No. 23, 1914, pp. 111 ff.). Incidentally, no woman
[843] may watch a blacksmith at work. A pregnant Murundi wife
is not permitted to eat meat, beans, sweet potatoes, beer, or
salt; she may only eat boiled manioc, hot maize gruel, ripe
bananas, and peanuts. However, a pregnant Mutwa woman
may eat and drink as usual. Nobody may warm or boil milk
[825] since otherwise the cows would become sick. Likewise, a person who has eaten peanuts or peas may [138] not drink milk
on the same day since the cows would become sick. Nobody
may eat vegetables and milk at the same time since this would
harm the cows which gave the milk. The Banjaruanda,
Banjankole, Banjampororó, and Banjoro have the same superstitions (No. 30, Vol. II, pp. 514, 534; No. 19, p. 6). In
[765] Urundi, after the father of a family has died, his widow and
children do not eat salt until the period of mourning has
passed, and they do not cut their hair.

784 There are special rules dealing with the consumption of
water. The washing and drinking water in a house must never
be completely used up. Every evening a little water is left in
[782] a jug so that the manes can refresh themselves at night. This
is called amasi y'Imana. The family will use this remaining
water the next morning for washing themselves (No. 19, p. 6).
[788] A person may not cross a river without first painting a line on
his forehead with the mud from the shore.

Numerous rules affect family life. A father never enters
[606] the hut of his daughter-in-law. Also, until his married
[593] daughters have given birth to a child, the father may not see
them unveiled (No. 19, p. 6). A woman who has just given
[846] birth to a child cannot leave the house for three days, since
otherwise the baby, but not the mother, would get sick. If
[845] twins are born, a religious ceremony has to be performed (see
p. 110), since otherwise the children would die. A son-in-law
606 must avoid his mother-in-law; a daughter-in-law must avoid
her father-in-law. If the young people nevertheless meet
them, they must run or at least turn away from their parents-
in-law. This is considered a sign of great respect. Its non-
observance would be a serious insult and would lead to breaking
the engagement [sic]. Basically, however, the reason for this
is probably the fear of the taboo against contact with close
relatives which is connected with conceptions of exogamy. A
violation of this taboo is believed to bring harm and impurity
upon the violator. This taboo is strictly observed by many peoples
[171] of East Africa, for example, by the Wangoni, Wagogo, Massai,
Wakamba, Basoga, Baganda, and others. (No. 30, Vol. II,
pp. 400, 403, 412, 420, 461, 508). In Urundi the young couple
is bound by the rule to avoid their parents-in-law until they have
children, but after that the young people must show the greatest
attention and subservience to the wishes of their parents-in-law.
It often happens that the demands made by the latter are so
exacting that the young couple has hardly enough time left for
taking care of their own housework and the fields (No. 23, 1914,
p. 122).

482 The pad used for carrying burdens on the head (ingata)
784 has to be treated with particular care. No one may sit on it for

482 this would result in this person's or his father's death. A child
784 who my mistake sits on the pad will stop growing unless it spits
on the pillow so as to ward off evil (No. 19, p. 553). Most
probably the underlying reasons for this fear are totemistic
conceptions.

3. Missions

The extreme pride of caste and race of the Batussi is the
797 main reason the work of Christian missions has had little success
563 in Urundi. Teachings about the brotherhood of all Christians
require the Mutussi to regard himself as the equal of his "slave,"
the Bahutu, or even to associate in a brotherly manner with the
[139] despised pariahs, the Batwa. The Mutussi bluntly rejects
these ideas outright, not for religious but for social reasons,
and it is obvious that every Mutussi will prohibit the Bahutu over
whom he rules to join a religious community whose teachings
aim at leveling the deep social chasm on which the political
rule of the Batussi over the large mass of the Bahutu is based.
797 Among the Bahutu the missionaries are opposed by strong and
persistent enemies: the priests (kiranga), medicine men
(abafumu), and the members of secret religious societies (for
example, the ababandwa), who control the spiritual and emotional life of their countrymen and whose connections and
organizations form a network over the entire land. Although
797 Christian missionaries have been active for more than 30 years
735 in the country, their work is still limited mainly to the poor
737 and destitute who have no contact with their own people. Van
888 der Burgt writes: "Most of those who come to the missions are
starving persons during the frequent hunger epidemics and
decrepit old men and women who have been cast out by their
families. It would be easy to fill an old people's home with
hundreds of inmates within a few weeks, for many of them are
drowned by their families in the nearest river. Cattle are much
dearer to the heart of the Murundi than are his aged relatives"
No. 23, 1905, p. 178). As to the rest the rest there are only
very few Barundi who have become Christians from inner conviction.

797 For all these national, social, and political reasons, the Batussi would also reject Islam if at some time in the future it should attempt to gain a foothold in this country which so far has been hardly accessible to foreign penetration. The memory of the battles they fought against Arab slave hunters only intensifies the Murundi's rejection of it.

The missionaries, however, continue their work untiringly in spite of little expectation of spreading the gospel among the Barundi as long as the Batussi remain the rulers. Such idealism and firmness of belief is indeed admirable. For many years only the Catholic "White Fathers" were active in this area. In 1896 they founded the first mission in Mujaga (east Urundi; Plate 29b), and later they opened other missions in Mugera (central Urundi), Marienberg (west Urundi), Mariensee (northeastern Urundi). The Protestant Neudettelsbach Mission began its activity in Iruwura (northwest Urundi) only in 1910. The founding of a second mission in northwest Urundi followed in 1912.

797 177 Due to the predominantly negative attitude of the Barundi, very little cultural work has been accomplished of the kind which prepares for and accompanies actual missionary work: teaching basic school subjects, guidance in handicrafts, the spread of innovations in agriculture and stockbreeding. The medical activity of the missionaries seems still to be more efficacious than anything else in winning the confidence of the people.

In the Batussi states of Ruanda and Uha which have been inaccessible to the outside world for such a long time, the position is the same. On the other hand, the adjoining areas of Ussumbwa, Usindja, and Ihangiro, where the people are less divided by differences of caste and race and where there is no strict Batussi rule, have been open to foreign influences for a much longer period and there the work of the missionaries has been far more successful. Only time can tell whether the prospects for Christianization will also improve in Urundi. Most probably this will come about once the power of the Batussi rulers has been destroyed.

[140] Chapter 10

Medicine, Chronometry, Arithmetic, Language

1. Medicine

753 We have already discussed above (p. 132) the basic re-
755 ligious elements in the concepts of the Barundi about all kinds
of _sickness_ *and their remedies. To the Barundi, all illnesses*
757 are the result of sorcery by a demon, and they can be cured or alleviated only by counter-magic. This counter-magic may be performed by the sorcerer or medicine man (_umufumu_) by means of the magic powers vested in him. He may seek to affect the demon of sickness either by certain manipulations or incantations or by means of talismans and amulets which he has endowed with his powers, or he may choose with prudent circumspection and mature experience certain natural substances which have specific inherent magical powers, herbs, juices, types of earth, or the body parts of animals, and use them as specific remedies for each particular case.

I should like to describe this last type of application as
757 being essentially _medical_ treatment of the patient, for the decisive element is, after all, that these remedies have not been vested with their magic power and effectiveness by the _umufumu_, but rather they had these qualities originally. Without a thorough investigation, we are unable to answer the question whether we should say that the natives regard these properties as the expression of a soul inherent in the object or as the characteristic emanations of the object itself (in the sense of "emanism" as defined by Karutz, _Zeitschrift für Ethnologie_ [Ethnological Journal], 1913, p. 545 ff.). For our present purposes this question is only of secondary importance. Such remedies, endowed with healing power _a priori_, can be effectively applied not only by the sorcerer but by any other intelligent man or woman familiar with their specific magical properties and able to select them properly. In addition to these remedies which are applied internally and externally,

757 there are others which rely on mechanical means for an effect, as, for instance, massage, enema, hot and cold baths, and, further, a small number of surgical operations from the simple [752] opening of a boil to (allegedly) the Caesarean operation (see above, p. 110). Difficult cases are treated by an experienced, skillful umumfumu, but for simple cases every father of a family uses a number of household remedies. The art of using them is passed on from father to son. If necessary, a sick neighbor is given the benefit of them also.

[141] Generally, the first remedy tried is hot or cold water. It is used for intensive rubdowns, for long baths in treating skin diseases, aching joints, insomnia, and fever. A Murundi [515] enjoys taking a bath whenever a sufficient supply of water is available, but as soon as possible after the bath he will rub butter on his skin. There are several natural thermal baths in Urundi [312] which are used not only by the people living in the vicinity. For example, a gushing thermal spring whose water temperature is 47° Centigrade is located near Kisagara, a village not far from the Mugera missionary station, and there is another one north of Tschiwitoke in the Ruzizi Valley. A kind of steam bath is given to persons with fever by alternately holding their heads and limbs over a pot of boiling, steaming water (No. 19, p. 183). Enemas of warm water to which some herbal juice has been added are very common. They are given by first introducing the end of a long hollow stalk of reed or a strong leaf folled into the form of a tube into the anus; then the person applying the treatment blows a mouthful of water through the other end of this pipe into the bowels (No. 19, p. 331). Adults frequently give an enema to themselves: they fill one of the long-necked bottle gourds with water, insert the narrow end of the long bottleneck into the anus, and then lift the calabash in such a manner as to permit the water to enter the bowels by its own weight. Enemas are used for stomach-aches of any kind, constipation, diarrhea, fever, etc.

[278] There are innumerable medicines made of inorganic, vegetable, and animal substances. Among these, poisons play a relatively minor role, for the Barundi do not even know how to make arrows poisonous. The Batwa often use very effective

751 poison on their arrows. Nevertheless, besides magical conceptions, the fear of poison is probably the main reason why most medicines are first applied externally to the skin or worn in a poultice. Only after this method fails to produce results do they decide to take the medicine internally (cf. also p. 132).

One of the popular external remedies is the burning of the skin (cauterization) on the ailing part of the body. For this purpose a mixture of grease and wood ashes is first rubbed on the skin, then a red-hot piece of iron is applied to it. Afterward a little butter is rubbed on to alleviate the pain (No. 19, p. 91). In other cases a sharp knife is used instead of a hot piece of iron. It is used either as an especially strong irritant or for drawing blood. The method is similar to that of tattooing (p.29). The Murundi does not actually practice blood-letting nor does he open the veins of human patients, although he frequently uses an arrowhead for bleeding cattle so as to enjoy their blood (p.45).
752 Boils on the surface of the skin are opened with a needle or a knife. If a person is suffering from aching limbs, a series of small incisions are made in the skin with the local type of razor. Certain healing ointments or powders are then applied to the wound. The technique of cupping is also known. [Fig. 18 appears here in the original text.] It is applied by placing a piece of cattle horn (Fig. 18), [142] with the point pierced, on the place where an incision has been made in the skin. Through the hole in the horn the wound is then sucked until a sufficient amount of blood has been extracted (No. 19, p. 527).

However, the Barundi are very much afraid of deeper incisions, even if they are made by a European. A Murundi physician never performs amputations of limbs. Broken arms or legs are adroitly and carefully put in splints by placing them between two flat boards of wood which are then held firmly together with strips of barkcloth so that movement is impossible. Considering the prevailing disinclination for surgical operations, it appears very doubtful to me whether the Barundi actually perform as difficult an operation as the Caesarean on living women as van der Burgt mentions in a short note (No. 19, p. 363).

[Text continues on page 221]

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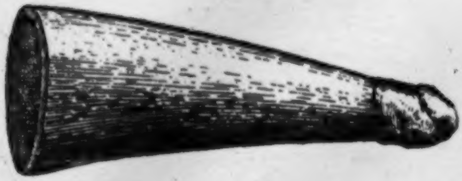

Fig. 18. Cupping Instrument of Cattle Horn.
(Ethnological Museum, Berlin, No. 6543.)

752 It seems more likely that, as in Ruanda, Ussuwi, and Kisiba (No. 31, p. 117; No. 48, p. 228; Petermanns Mitteilungen [Petermann's Communications] 1879, p. 393), they only perform a Caesarean operation on women who have just died in order to save the infant or at least to remove it from the womb so that it may be buried separately (see pp. 110 , 140). Trepanation is unknown among the Barundi.

164 Many of the diseases from which the Barundi suffer are of an endemic character, for example, malaria, relapsing fever, leprosy, and sand fleas. Only a few appear as an epidemic, for example, smallpox and sleeping sickness, but their effect is all the more terrible since the Barundi do not know or apply any antidotes. Van der Burgt lists a whole series of diseases which occur in this region (No. 19, pp. 350-351), but he often uses different names for one and the same disease in its different stages. The following ones, in particular, should be mentioned: syphilis, fever, boils, inflammation of the eye, sores on legs and arms, epilepsy, cramps, leprosy, tapeworms and other intestinal worms, phthisis (ikihaha), dysentery, coughing, abscess on the vulva, diphtheria (?), inflammation of the testicles, gonorrhea, rheumatism, head porrigo, threadworms (filaria), omphalocele, elephantiasis, smallpox, insanity, loss of teeth, lithiasis, paralysis, catarrh of the frontal cavity, whooping cough, dropsy, blood in the urine, deafness, inflammation of the chest, leucorrhea and blennorrhea.

164 Of all diseases, smallpox (akaranda, akasibe) is the most
feared. It comes in epidemics and depopulates entire districts,
731 as, for instance, in the beginning of the 1890's when in Urundi,
Ruanda, Karagwe, and other areas of the interlacustrine region
many thousands of people were carried away. According to
native reports a serious smallpox epidemic afflicted the country
around the turn of the century. Less epidemic in nature but also
164 very much feared are the different types of inflammation of the
throat (ikiwa) which should be described as angina and some of
them perhaps as diphtheria. Often they quickly result in the
infected person's death. Running pustules and boils (ikihoro,

164 ikinutsi, amosi, ikivimba) are also very widespread but less dangerous. They can presumably be identified with frambesia and are contracted especially by children. The afflicted persons suffer less from pain than from being immobilized. Since they do not keep the sores clean, the healing process is very slow. These skin sores should not be confused with those caused by syphilis (ikikatschji) which is fortunately still very rare in Urundi and in Ruanda. Sores caused by the sand flea (infunsa) are also rather rare in Urundi, except in the area around Lake Tanganyika which has been very much affected by trade. This affliction is far more common in Ruanda. Still more seldom have I seen persons suffering from leprosy (umuwembe) in Urundi, only two cases near Lake Tanganyika and a few cases near the Mugera missionary station where a small isolation hut has been built for lepers. During my entire trip through Urundi I observed elephantiasis only two or three times, and it is equally rare in Ruanda. [143] According to van der Burgt, phthisis can be found in a few districts, but I doubt whether the disease which he calls ikihaha is identical with our European tuberculosis. The bubonic plague, which is endemic in the area around Lake Victoria, in Uganda, Kavirondo, the Mwanza district, and Kisiba, does not seem to occur in Urundi at all, but it is reported that it occurs quite frequently in Ruanda and is known as masseke sickness.

Many Barundi suffer from intestinal worms, and children in particular often die of them. Acute diarrhea is also frequent, and the dangerous dysentery sometimes develops into an epidemic, for example, in 1908. According to the reports given by the missionaries, gonorrhea and fluor albus have been imported here from the East, but they are not very widespread. Eye diseases are rare, except that small children are afflicted by them, and their eyes are often covered by large numbers of the infectious flies.

As in Ruanda, malaria (injonko, indurwe) occurs every-
164 where in the warm, swampy lowlands which abound in these
136 countries. I have caught the anopheles mosquito in the swampy
mountain valleys of southern Ruanda and northwestern Urundi at

164 altitudes as high as 1,600 to 1,700 meters, once even at [136] 2,140 meters east of Usumbura. There I saw natives suffering from malaria, and I treated them with quinine. Some of the members of my caravan were also infected. However, it appears that blackwater fever occurs not at all or only very rarely. The highland Barundi are particularly afraid of being infected with malaria in the lowlands of the Akanjaru and the Ruvuvu in the north, in the swampy lakes in the northeast, and in the low, warm coastal area of Lake Tanganyika with the adjoining valley of the Ruzizi River, but the relatively few Barundi who live there permanently appear to be immune for the most part.

The highland Barundi are extremely sensitive to changes 164 in climate when traveling or when changing their residence. 147 In former times when the neighboring areas, for example, Ussumbwa, were still importing female slaves from Urundi, they calculated that eight out of ten slaves would perish because they could not live in the climate (No. 14, 1900-1901, p. 178). The missionaries in Mariahilf in Uschirombo report that in their missionary orphanage they always have quite a number of children from Urundi and Ruanda who are unable to get used to the climate of Uschirombo (which is not particularly bad) and who are almost always sick. The women who go there from Urundi and Ruanda have the same difficulty. Quite a few of them die or lose so much weight that they look like skeletons. Many of them recover after about a year, but they remain weak (No. 14, 1900-1901, p. 288). I would like to add that, ac- [146] cording to my own observations, it is not merely the change of climate which is responsible for these cases of sickness but also the change in food, for example, lack of milk and poor water. In any case, it has been confirmed by experience that in the whole of East Africa the inhabitants of the cool mountainous areas and the highlands, such as Ruanda, Urundi, Uhehe, Usambara, etc., cannot live for any length of time in the lower, warmer regions, as, for example, in Unjamwesi, Ugogo, Useguha, and the coastal areas. This should be a serious warning to us not to import great numbers of people for work in the plantations of the lowlands, or, as the slogan goes, to open the gates of

164 these large "human reservoirs" of the highlands in order to
147 supply the plantations suffering from a chronic lack of labor. An attempt to do so would lead to results which would differ little from mass murder.

[144] The spread of sleeping sickness from the eastern
164 Congo to the western, lower regions of Urundi has had terrible
136 results. The carrier of the sleeping sickness, the stinging fly
731 *Glossina palpalis*, has infected the Ruzizi valley up to the vicinity of Lake Kivu, which is still safe, and the entire basin of Lake Tanganyika almost to the border formed by the surrounding mountains, and it also has spread to the stream and river valleys facing the lake as far as the eastern highland, for example, the valley of the Malagarasi. According to official reports on the development of our protectorate in 1912-13, the situation on Lake Tanganyika is such that, as a result of the considerable expansion of the infected area, the inaccessibility of the population, and also the difficulty of controlling the traffic with the infected areas of the Congo colony, the fight against sleeping sickness will continue for a long time to come. According to official sources, 3,303 new cases were observed in 1913, as compared with 3,560 cases in 1912. In the area of Lake Tanganyika there are probably a total of 200,000 persons suffering from sleeping sickness.

164 In 1911 I traveled through the infected areas of the lower
731 Ruzizi valley and in northeastern Tanganyika. I was horrified by the devastation that the disease had caused among the population which formerly had been so dense and had been so cheerful. Entire villages have ceased to exist, and the population of extensive areas have moved away or have been relocated by the government. The sick who have been collected in well-guarded camps by the government are slowly dying, and none of the remedies applied (Atoxyl, Salvarsan, and others) seem to have any beneficial effect. All economic activity has ceased, traffic and commerce have stopped, and the European firms which were active there have either gone bankrupt or moved away except for a few. After the railroad has been built to Lake Tanganyika, it will be possible to combat the spreading of the sleeping sickness

164 731 in the Tanganyika region with much better means and prospects for success, but it will take decades before the damage is repaired to any extent.

164 136 Fortunately the disease has not yet spread to the large area of Urundi proper east of Lake Tanganyika, and it probably will not spread there in the future since the highlands of Urundi, Ruanda, and Uha are too cool for the Glossina palpalis to thrive and also because the conditions necessary for the existence of the fly, flowing water and shady bushes near the water, exist only in certain places of the highlands which are predominantly covered with grass. On the other hand, it seems to me that the great danger still approaching is that after the completion of the Tanganyika railroad the disease may also spread to the central areas of East Africa. Disease-carrying specimens of the Glossina palpalis, which at present is unable to fly across the dry steppes east of Lake Tanganyika, might be disseminated passively by being carried in railroad trains, as has happened in other countries with so many other epidemic or endemic diseases that were spread by means of railroads and ships. Then, if these infected flies find favorable conditions of existence at the eastern end of the railroad line, new nidi for sleeping sickness will be created. The situation may become even more dangerous if Glossina morsitans, the tsetse fly which is very common in the eastern regions, contracts the infection from Glossina palpalis and carries it farther. It has already been definitely proved in the southern part of our colony that Glossina morsitans may become a carrier of true sleeping sickness. If now, by [145] means of the railroad, the immensely large area where Glossina morsitans is common were infected from the direction of Lake Tanganyika, the consequences for the population of German East Africa would be incalculable. It is advisable to face up in time to this danger which is threatening us from western Urundi and the region of Lake Tanganyika. Otherwise reality might prove too much of a shock for us someday.

2. Chronometry, Counting, Arithmetic

821 The astronomical observations and knowledge of the Barundi are very meager. To them the sun (isuba) is only the wandering fire of Imana, the principal god. They believe that when the sun goes down in the west it falls into the hands of the Wabemba. The Wabemba, however, are cannibals and eat the sun, except for a small piece which escapes them and returns to the east where it once more grows to its full size and rises again in the morning (No. 19, p. 53).

In the minds of the Barundi the moon (ukwesi) is of greater importance, for it is by the regularly recurring phases of the moon that they measure the time. The moon is a male (or hermaphroditic?) being; the evening star is his favorite wife; the other stars are his children and servants; the stars of the "Great Bear" are his concubines; and those of Orion are his oldest sons (No. 19, p. 54). As among all Negroes, the appearance of the first crescent after new moon is greeted with jubilation, but the Barundi have no special cult devoted to the return of the moon. The word ukwesi, moon, has the same root as the Swahili word mwesi; the moon is the shining, strong, and powerful one. This is probably also the origin of the name Mwesi for one of the Barundi kings (see p. 162 [not translated]). The name Unjamwesi really refers to the land of Mwesi, i.e., Urundi, but when the Arabs invaded the lake region (in 1840), they applied this name to the whole area south of Lake Victoria and east of Lake Tanganyika. They named it after the most powerful of the local rulers, the king of Urundi. Thus, the name has been retained for the region of Unjamwesi which, in addition to Tabora, was occupied by the Arabs; yet the real land of Mwesi (Urundi) remained closed to them.

805 Everything in Urundi is determined by the course and the changes of the moon. The year is a lunar year, but the year is not consciously divided into twelve months, nor is there any definite measure of time for a year (umwaka). A year has passed when the two main seasons, the dry season and the rainy season, have passed. Within this framework, time is reckoned by the various agricultural activities undertaken at certain phases of the

805 moon during the rainy season or the dry season, for example: beginning of the rainy season (end of October), sowing corn; end of the rainy season (end of May), planting manioc; birth of a boy, full moon after the corn was sowed; death of a relative, new moon after planting manioc, and so forth. Nobody is able to count back in time for more than eight or ten years, and to do this one counts by saying: we have harvested sorghum so many times (No. 19, p. 377). Nobody knows exactly how old he is as soon as he is more than eight to ten years old. If one describes an event as 20, 30, or 40 years in the past, he means by this merely that it happened a long time ago.

To be specific, certain seasons which are marked by regularly recurring agricultural events are given definite names which one might call the names of months as determined by the agricultural cycle. Van der Burgt lists a whole series [146] of these (No. 19, p. 377), for example: uratsi, time when the grass sprouts (end of September and beginning of October); umwirima, beginning of the rainy season, beginning of planting and sowing (end of October, November); umwirawura, sprouting of the seed (December); umukuwesi, the corn is beginning to form cobs, beans are blossoming (end of December); ikigarama, beans are ripe (beginning of January); ikidida, beans are picked (end of January); akataschi, sorghum is planted (beginning of February); uruschana, corn is ripe (end of February, beginning of March); umunjonjo, sorghum is growing cobs (end of March); urusamo, sorghum is almost ripe (beginning of April); akawosa, harvesting sorghum (end of April); uruheschi, end of the rainy season, planting manioc, harvesting corn (end of May); itsi, dry season, time for drinking beer and catching fish (June to October); umukakora, burning the grass (June, July, August); akasjabirano, preparing the fields (October).

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201 Of course the Barundi do not divide the day into twelve hours but into periods determined by the position of the sun and by phenomena which regularly occurs during daylight. Like almost all Negroes, when referring to a certain time of day in a story, they indicate the particular position of the sun in the sky

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with their outstretched hand. They also do this when they wish to indicate the length of a trip or the distance between two places. Specific expressions are used for the following times of day: first crowing of the cock, first signs of daybreak, dawn, time of the awakening of the birds, rising of the sun, time between noon and evening, beginning of dusk, sundown, nightfall, bedtime, midnight, very late, very early. The concept for "week" is unknown.

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When counting and reckoning (kuharura) the Murundi uses the fingers of one or both hands; he does not use his toes or his feet. Like all Bantu Negroes, the Barundi count by placing together or bending a certain number or group of fingers. They thus employ the decimal system. In the Bantu language the numbers from one to ten are: one, umwe; two, iwili; three, itatu; four, inne; five, itano; six, itandatu; seven, indwi; eight, umunane; nine, tschjenda; ten, tschjumi. Frequently, however, one may hear them count by using combinations of numbers with five, i.e., 6 = 5 + 1, 7 = 5 + 2, 8 = 5 + 3, 9 = 5 + 4. The number of fingers on one hand is thus the arithmetical unit which, as a closed fist, is always used for calculations. Individual numbers are indicated with the fingers in the following manner: one, outstretched index finger of the right hand with the other fingers bent inward; two, outstretched index finger and middle finger with the other fingers bent; three, outstretched index finger, middle finger, and ring finger with the other fingers bent; four, all fingers of a hand, except the thumb, outstretched; five fist formed with the right hand; six, fist formed with the right hand touched by the outstretched little finger of the left hand; seven, fist formed with the right hand touched with the little finger and ring finger of the left hand; eight, fist formed with the right hand touched with the little finger, ring finger, and middle finger of the left hand; nine, fist formed by the right hand and touched with the little finger, ring finger, middle finger, and index finger of the left hand; ten, two fists placed together. In order to indicate eleven, the fists are beaten together once and then the index finger of the

802 right hand is stretched out to indicate one, etc., up to nineteen.
201 To indicate twenty, thirty, forty, the fists are beaten together two, three, or four times while counting: two tens (*amatschjumi awili*), three tens (*amatschjumi atatu*), etc. There are no specific numbers above ten (No. 19, pp. 114-115).

If in practical life the Murundi has to calculate with
802 objects, for example, when buying a certain number of sweet potatoes or manioc or beads, he divides the objects in groups of five, then piles two such groups of five together, and then adds the two, three, or four tens, etc. [147] A Murundi will hardly ever count above 100; he will always try to visualize the amounts by dividing them into separate groups, for example, when counting cattle or the warriors or subjects of a *mutwale*.

The Murundi does not have a number for describing the concept of "much" or "very much," as, for instance, the figure 40 among the Turkic peoples or 600 among the Romans; he expresses "much, many" with the Bantu word *inschi* (Swahili, *ingi*).

3. Language

197 All Barundi speak the same Bantu idiom, Kirundi. This is true of the original Batwa inhabitants as well as of the Bahutu who settled in the area later, and also of the most recent Hamitic conquerors, the Batussi. Kirundi belongs to the agglutinative languages; its structure is the same as that of all Bantu languages. Its distribution covers the entire interlacustrine region. It is spoken in Urundi and, with dialectal variations, in Ruanda, Uha (Ujungu, Uschingu, Heru, Uruguru) and in Ujiji. The idioms spoken in Usindja, Ussuwi, and Karagwe, i.e., Kisindja, Kimueri, and Kinjambo, are very similar to Kirundi, and the languages spoken in Uganda and Unjoro are closely related to it (No. 19, p. 329). Many Kirundi words, mainly for governmental and administrative institutions and religious customs, can also be found in the Kinjamwesi dialects, such as
198 Kissumbwa, Kirwana, Kisukuma, and Kitakama. The religious secret societies (Waswesi, Batschwesi) of these peoples make

198 use of a special Kirundi terminology (No. 18, p. 1; cf. also above, p. 124).

The characteristic features of Kirundi are as follows:
193 1. absence of gender; 2. absence of declension, but nouns are grouped into classes and have special prefixes for singular and plural; 3. the parts of a sentence are governed by the nouns by means of certain prefixes or characteristic syllables (No. 18, p. 2).

All nouns can be divided into ten classes. Certain nouns are doubled in order to intensify the meaning or to give an expression a connotation of familiarity. Like all Bantu languages, Kirundi has very few adjectives; it uses instead participial forms of verbs, nouns, generic concepts, etc.

The most difficult aspect of Kirundi is the structure and system of the verb. It is true the verb as such is simple and its construction and use are logical, but the number and variety of forms is so great that it is extremely difficult to find equivalents for a Kirundi verb form in a European language. There are, for example, base forms, auxiliary forms, conjunctive forms, passive, conditional, causative, oppositional, restrictive, and other forms, altogether more than fifty (No. 18, pp. 32-33). On the other hand, the number of conjunctions is very small; most of them are expressed by auxiliary verbs. Since the Murundi will drop even these if they are not absolutely essential for conveying the meaning, sentences are short, and their manner of speech sounds choppy. If a Murundi were to understand an elegant German or even Latin sentence, he would translate it into at least ten sentences of Kirundi.

In addition to the shortness of the sentences, rapidity of
194 speech is also characteristic of the Barundi. The Banjaruanda, on the other hand, speak much more slowly with a somewhat [148] singing intonation. Accent, i.e., stressing a particular syllable or pronouncing it on a certain pitch, is very important for the meaning of a word. This also applies to whole sentences. A European who does not pay express attention to these factors will therefore often misunderstand a Murundi or be misunderstood by him, even if otherwise he speaks and understands Kirundi quite well. As a general rule, the syllable next to the last one in a word is stressed longer [sic] then the others, i.e., as in

194 German. In order to avoid harshness in the sound and pronuncia-
tion of words, the Murundi never permits an uninterrupted suc-
cession of two consonants or two vowels in the same syllable;
he separates the consonants by a vowel and the vowels by a
consonant or by the elision of one of the vowels.

However, in addition to the Kirundi which is generally
191 spoken in Urundi, there is also a vulgar and sacral Old Kirundi.
192 Its use is limited, and wherever it is spoken only fragments of
it are mixed with modern Kirundi. The Barundi have two, three,
or more terms for most objects and concepts; some belong to the
elegant conversational language, others to the vulgar manner
of speech of Old Kirundi which is used by the common people,
old women, and also by the Batwa whenever they are among
themselves (No. 19, p. 330), and it is found in the religious
hymns, festive chants, and ceremonial speeches (see pp. 70 ,
198 124 . 128). In Ruanda there is also a secret ritual language
called "lubandwa" (No. 48, p. 315), and there is a similar lan-
guage called "luchwesi" in Ussuwi (No. 24, p. 57).

In Old Kirundi the roots of nouns and verbs and their in-
197 flection are quite different from modern Kirundi. They are also
191 unlike those of any other Bantu language. Presumably Old
Kirundi is the original language of the Batwa who have been
living in these highlands longer than anyone else. The immigrants
who arrived later learned this language from the Batwa and at
present use it either separately in addition to their own idiom
or intermingled with it. Of course, the Batwa speak modern
Bantu Kirundi in addition to their original language (No. 18,
pp. 106-107).

Here are a few examples to illustrate the three linguistic
192 elements which co-exist in Urundi:

197

Word	Kitwa	Old Kirundi	New Kirundi
sun	irijotwa	irijotwa	isuba
moon	ukurabwa	ukurabwa	ukwesi
leopard	uwuhama	uwuhama	ingwe
sorghum	ururerema	ururerema	isakka
to hunt	kutamagisa	kutamagisa	kuhiga
to forge	kunaga	kunagura	kususa

According to Czekanowski, these Kitwa words are also known in Ruanda; supposedly they belong to a "local dialect" there. It appears that the language of the Batwa living in the volcanic regions of northern Ruanda is still another one; even such an eminent expert on Ruanda as Father Barthélemy was not familiar with it (No. 48, p. 131), and the idiom of the Ituri Batwa seems to belong to still another linguistic group. Samples of it taken down by Stuhlmann have no similarity with the Kitwa spoken in Urundi (No. 19, p. 330).

It is quite noteworthy that the Hamitic Batussi who invaded Urundi from the north and northeast approximately four centuries ago (see p. 7) understand Old [149] Kirundi, but as far as we know they have preserved no trace of their own original Hamitic language. To all appearances they stayed in the northern Bantu countries for quite some time before coming to Urundi. As a result they lost all trace of their Hamitic language and exchanged it for Bantu Kirundi, in addition to giving up many of their original Hamitic customs and accepting many Bantu customs and concepts. This phenomenon is especially noteworthy since the Batussi up to the present day have strictly and unwaveringly maintained the somatic and social purity of their race against the Bantu peoples over whom they rule. According to Captain von Langenn, only the members of the royal family, the Baganwa, have preserved some fragments of the Hamitic language, but van der Burgt has no knowledge of this (written communication). Also the missionary Roehl describes as incorrect the claim which often appears in the literature on the subject that the Ruanda Batussi have a separate language (No. 47a, p. 274). On the other hand, Captain Weiss reports that the Bahima of Ruanda and Mpororó have their own special language which he and his men could not understand, but he does not give any specimens (No. 33, p. 70). Future investigators should pay particular attention to such Hamitic language fragments, for they might yield valuable indications as to the former language and thus the origin of the Batussi.

Comparisons will have to be made with the Niloto-Hamitic languages of the Massai, Teso, Bari, Latuka, and especially with

197 the language of the Nandi in the Uganda protectorate. The language of the Nandi, of all the languages of East Africa, seems to resemble most closely the pure Hamitic language type since the Nandi probably are the remnants of a former Galla invasion. (A. W. Crabtree, "The Languages of the Uganda Protectorate," Journal of the African Society, January, 1914, pp. 158 ff.)

An exact study of the peculiar manner in which the Batussi 194 speak the Bantu idiom, Kirundi, will also yield many intimations and indications in this respect, for it is obvious even to an observant layman that the Batussi differ from the Bahutu in speaking Kirundi. They have a different accent, pronounce certain sounds differently, and combine the syllables differently. In general, it seemed to me that in both Ruanda and in Urundi the Batussi speak Kirundi with a much softer intonation and also that they have a tendency to swallow the vowels of the final syllables. Instead of the 's' or 'ss' pronounced by the Bahutu, they use a very soft 'sch' or 'dsch': instead of Munjahasi they say Munjahasch'; instead of Lanongo, Lanong'; instead of Lubassa, lubasch'. It is also often difficult to say whether the final vowel pronounced is an 'a,' or 'e.' It is also difficult to hear the difference in the pronunciation of 'r,' 'l,' and 'd.'

It would serve no purpose to list examples of modern 113 Kirundi at this point since one may consult the comprehensive Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi by Father J. M. van der Burgt and the small Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi et Kirundi-Français by Father F. Ménard which is specifically intended for missionary use (No. 29). Van der Burgt reproduces a few examples of stories, fables, songs, and hymns with an interlinear translation in his Dictionnaire, pp. 96, 292-293, 332-334, 339-342; I myself cannot add anything to them. In conclusion, however, I should 539 like to add a few proverbs which are noteworthy for their sharpness of observation and brevity of expression (No. 19, p. 470).

[150] 1) Ivintu	vy'ukwibwa	viraguma.
Things	of no interest	(are) hard [to comprehend].

2: Meyer--234 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

539 2) Kukenura n' ukuvina.
To work is to dance (play).

3) Ischano irasje ujumunsi, irindi risosa hanjuma
Misfortune comes today, something else will come later.

4) Invura irahedsje, isuba risosa.
Rain finished, sun will come.

5) Infisi iravuga, iraschaka kutwara umuntu.
Hyena howls, will carry away man.

6) Aravjutse, ari mubi.
(When) he has risen he is irritable.

Plate 1

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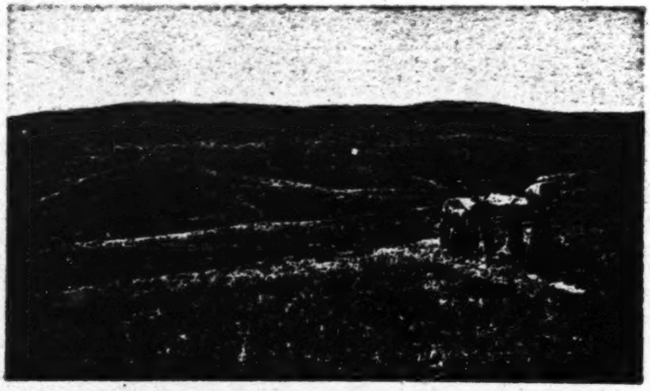

Highland Pasture in Southwest Urundi
(Photo. by Captain von Langenn-Steinkeller)

133

Waterfall in the Eastern Peripheral Mountains of
Lake Tanganyika, West Urundi
(Photo. by J. M. van der Burgt)

Plate 2

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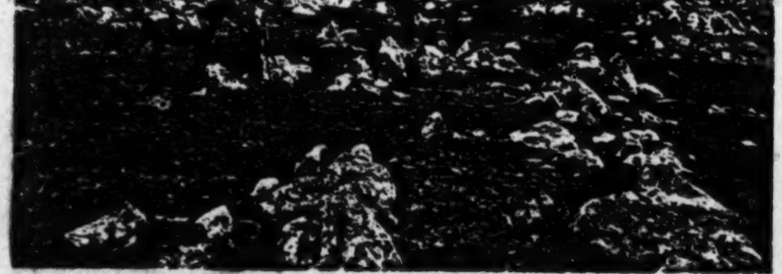
Valley Filled with Papyrus Swamp in Northwest Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

133



Quartzite Ridge East of Mujaga, East Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

Plate 3

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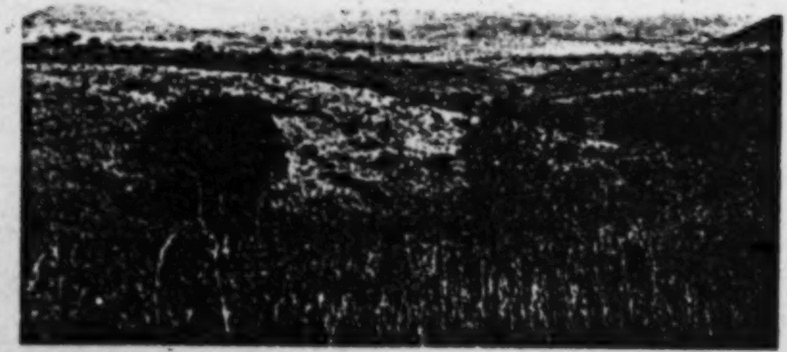
[482]

Grass Steppe in the Lower Ruzizi Valley, District of Bulinga
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)



Tree and Grass Steppe on the Kajongo River, Central Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

Plate 4

Primeval Forest in the Peripheral Mountains of Northwest Urundi
(Photo. by R. Grauer)

Bamboo Forest in the Peripheral Mountains East of Usumbura
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

Plate 5

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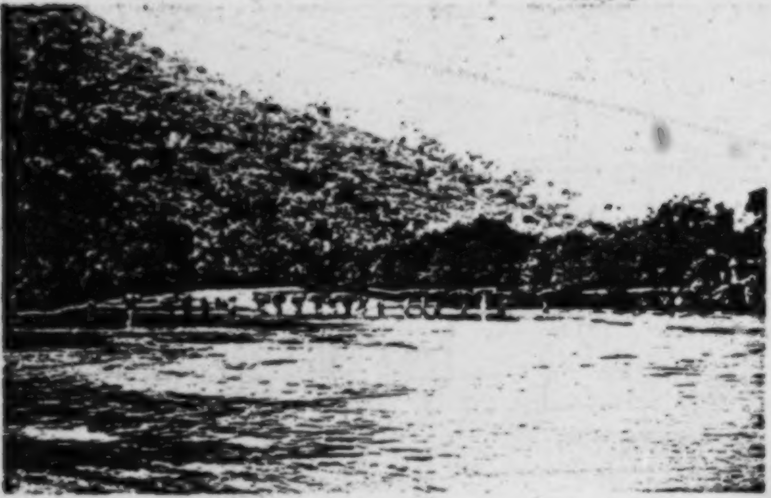

Ford in the Ruvuvu River East of Mugera
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

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Crossing the Ruvuvu River near Kihansa
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

Plate 6

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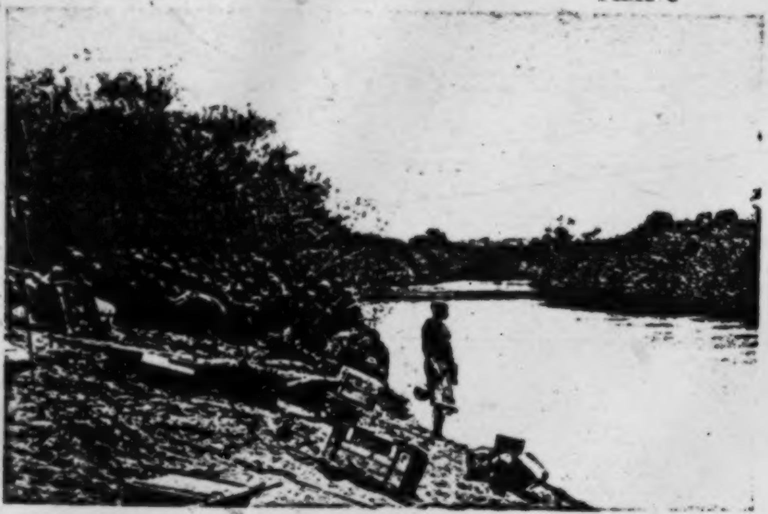

Barundi on the Ruvuvu near Kihansa, Central Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

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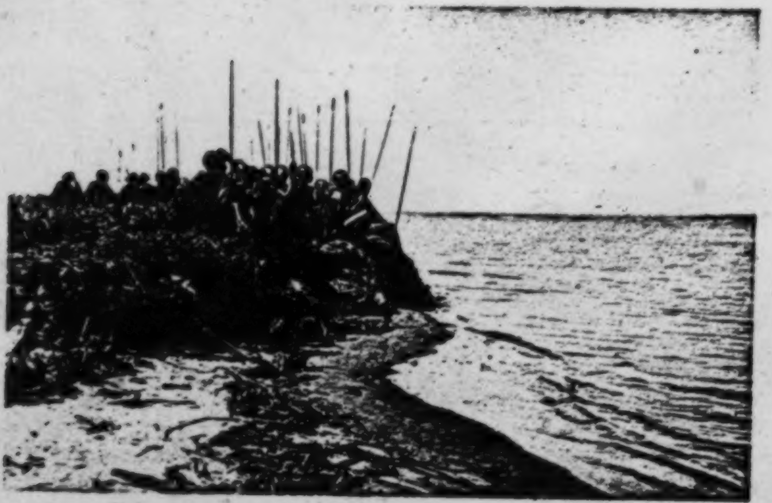

Barundi on the East Shore of Lake Tanganyika near Usumbura
(Photo. By Hans Meyer, 1911)

Plate 7

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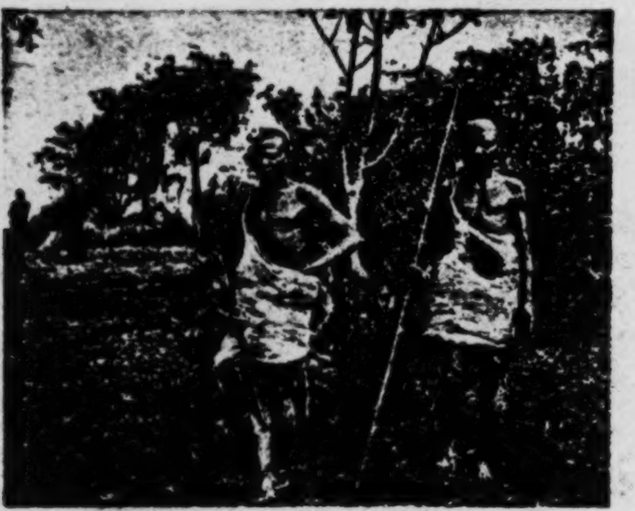

Batwa near Kilima, Northwest Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

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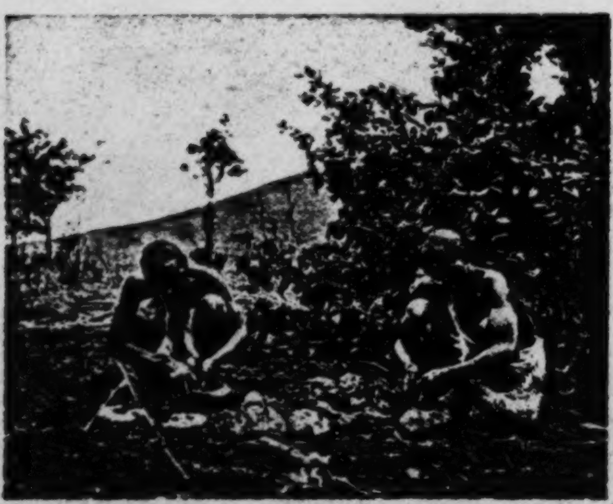

Batwa Making Pottery near Kilima, Northwest Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

Plate 8

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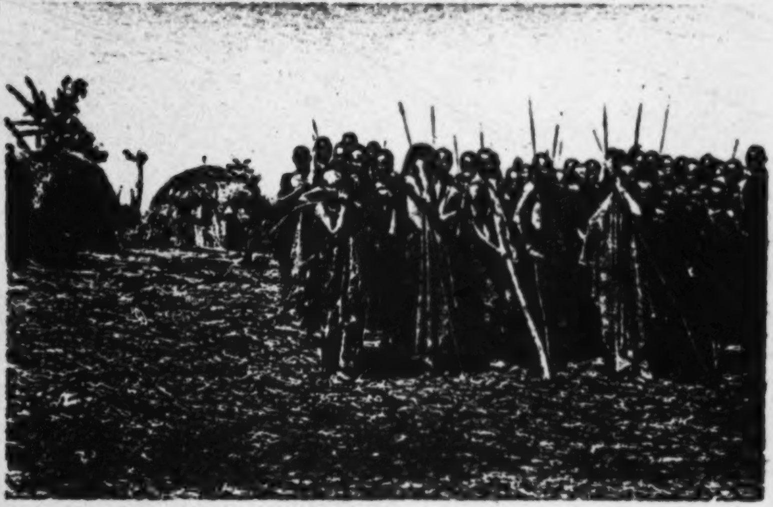
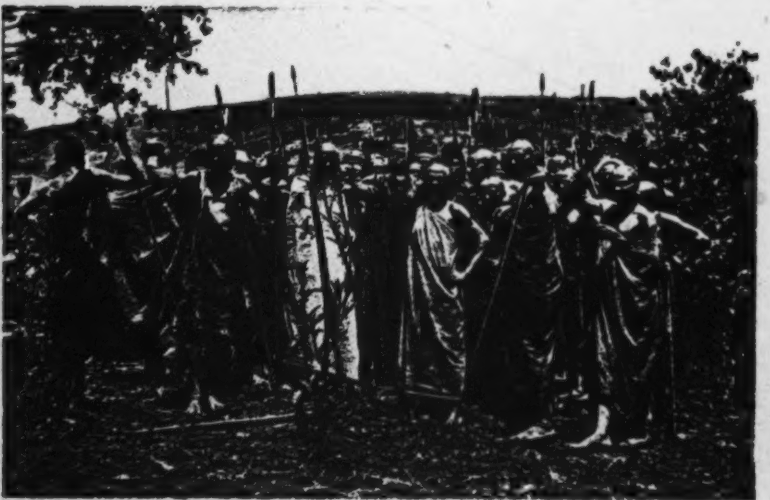


Barundi West of Mujaga, East Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)



Barundi near Kilima, Northwest Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

Plate 9

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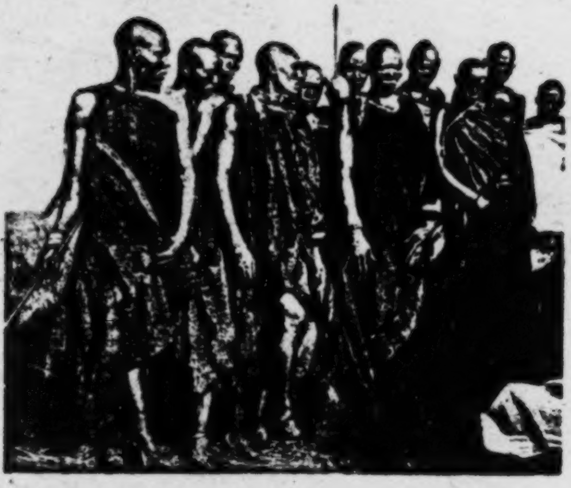
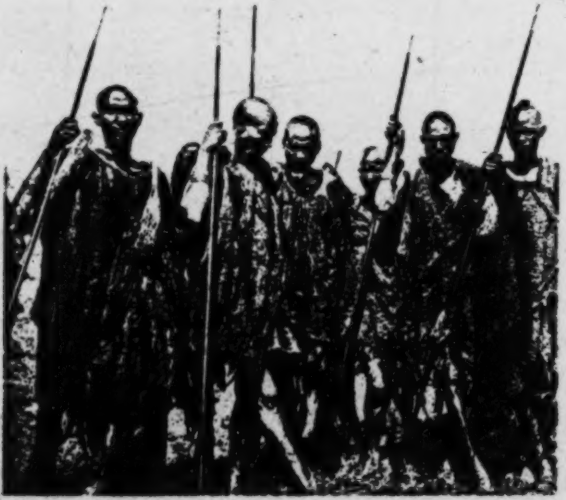


Barundi from the Upper Muwarasi River, West Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)



Barundi from Migeni, West of Mugera, Central Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

Plate 10

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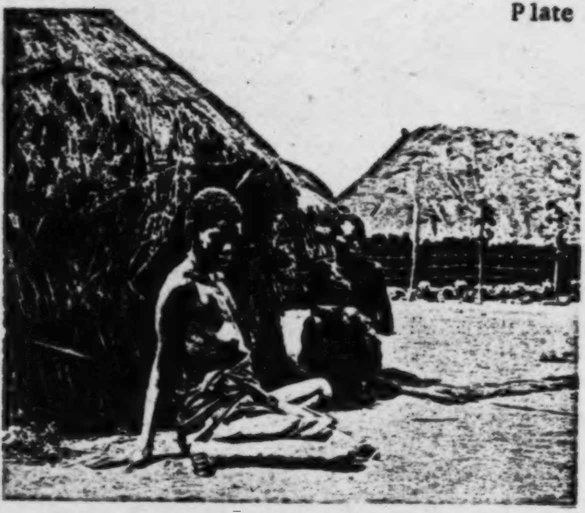

Women with Sleeping Sickness, Usumbura
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

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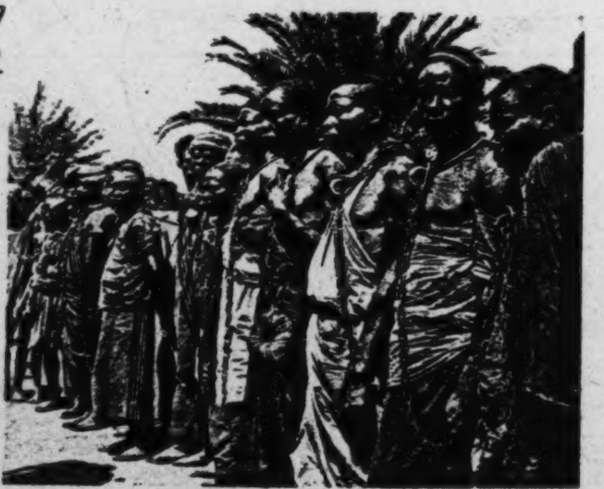

Chain Gang in Usumbura
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

Plate 11

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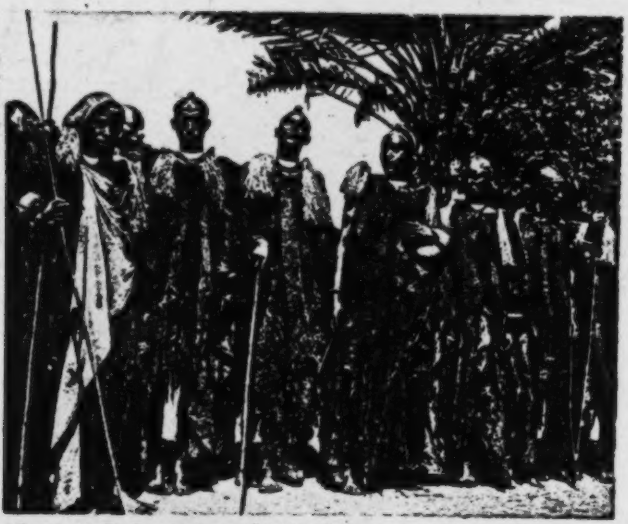
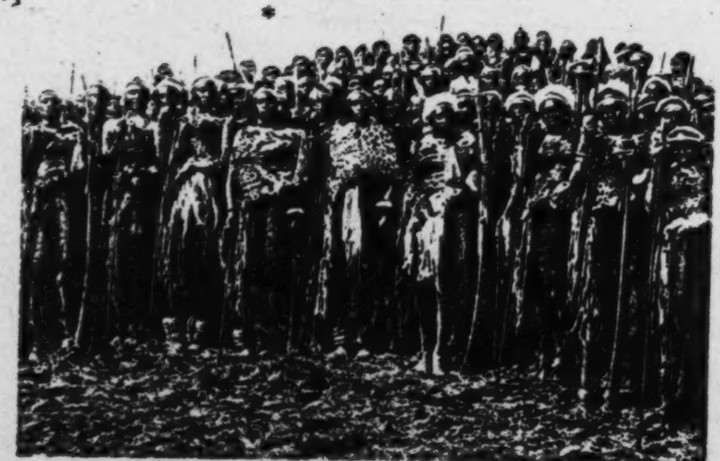


Batussi Delegation of King Mutaga in Usumbura
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

[643]



King Mutaga (*) of Urundi with Batussi Entourage
(Photo. by Captain von Langenn-Steinkeller)

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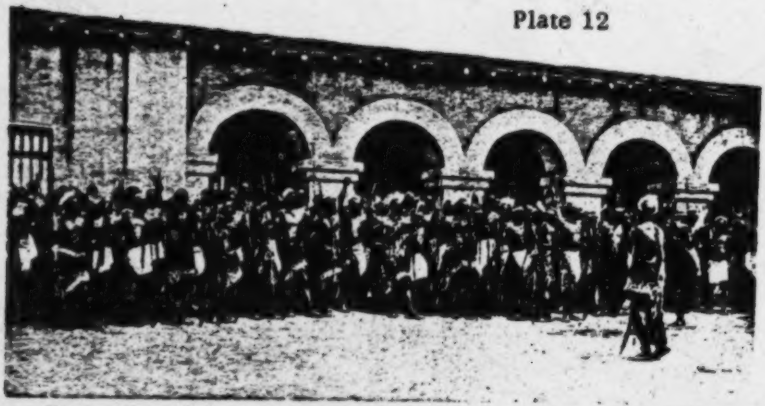
Plate 12



Entourage of the Muganwa Lusokosa in front of Gitega Station, Central Urundi
(Photo. by Captain von Langenn-Steinkeller)

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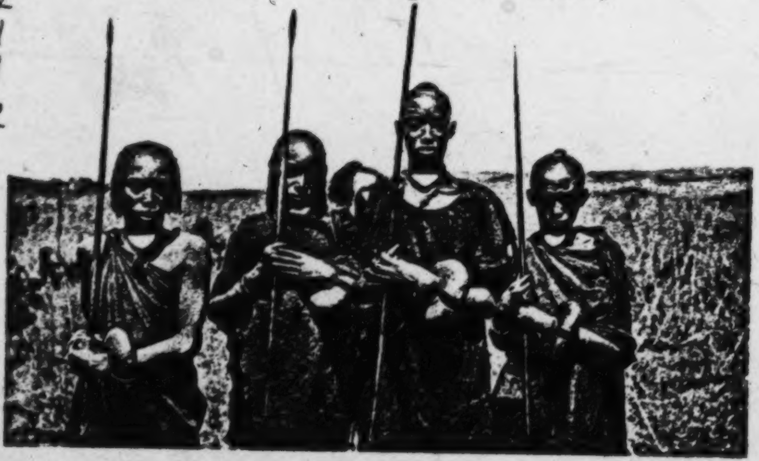

Young Batussi, Central Urundi
(Photo. by "White Fathers," Urundi)

2: Meyer--247 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

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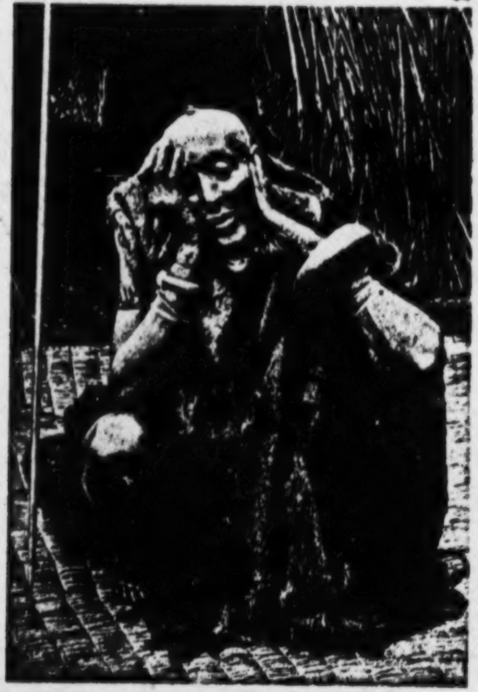

Urundi King Mwesi Kisabo, died 1908
(Photo. by "White Fathers" Urundi)

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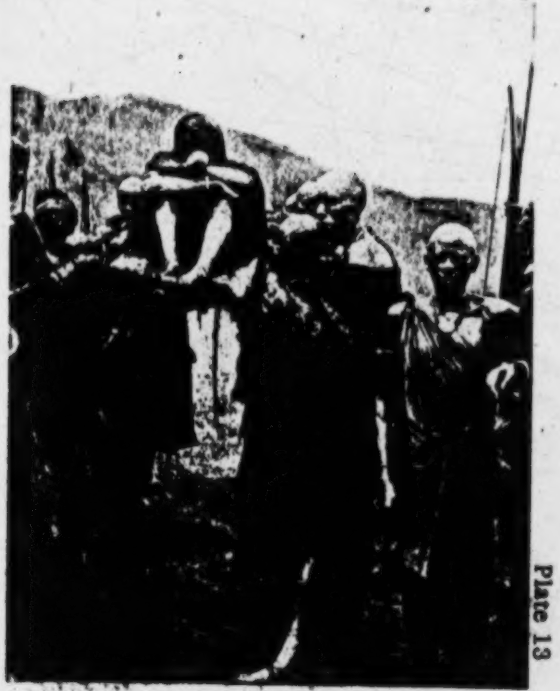

Urundi King Mwesi Kisabo, Carried on a Traveling Litter
(Photo. by "White Fathers," Urundi)

Plate 13

Plate 14

142
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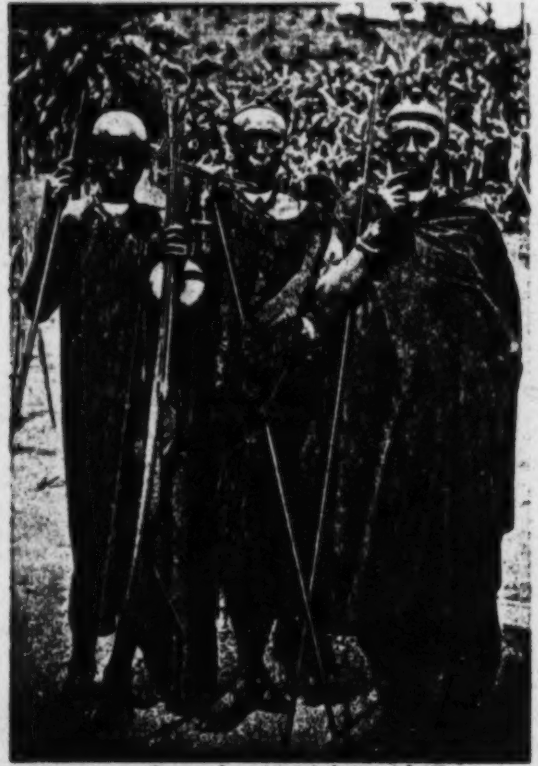

Muganwa Seruschanja (right) with Two Brothers
(Photo. by J. M. van der Burgt)

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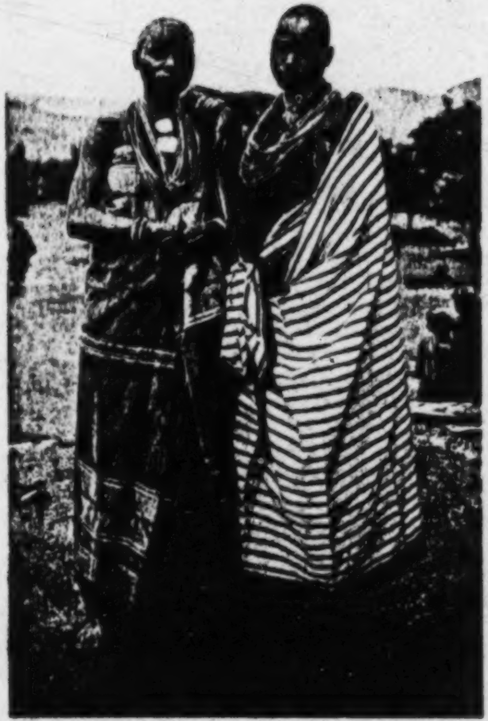

Barundi Christian Barundi Girls, North Urundi
(Photo. by J. M. van der Burgt)

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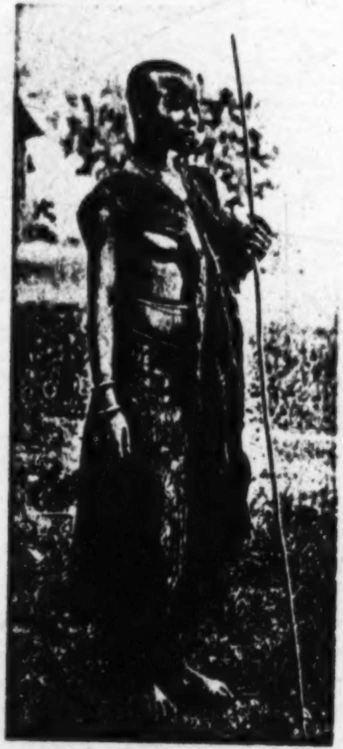
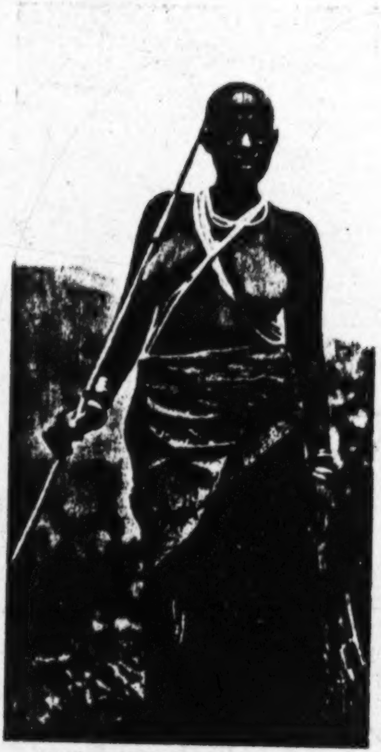
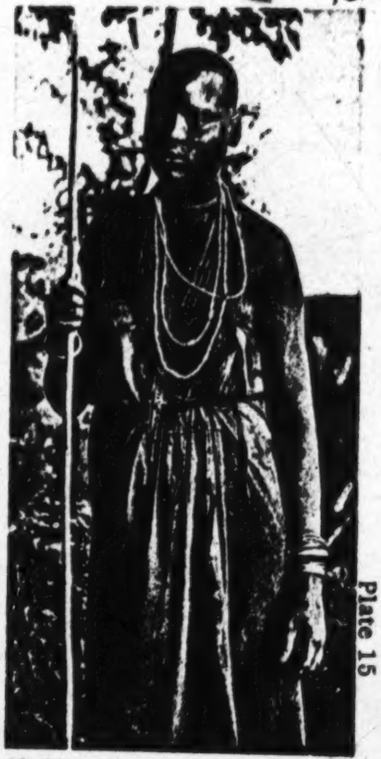
Plate 15



Mutussi Girl, Urundi



Muhutu Woman, Urundi



Christian Mutussi Girl, Urundi

(Photos. by "White Fathers," Urundi)

Plate 16

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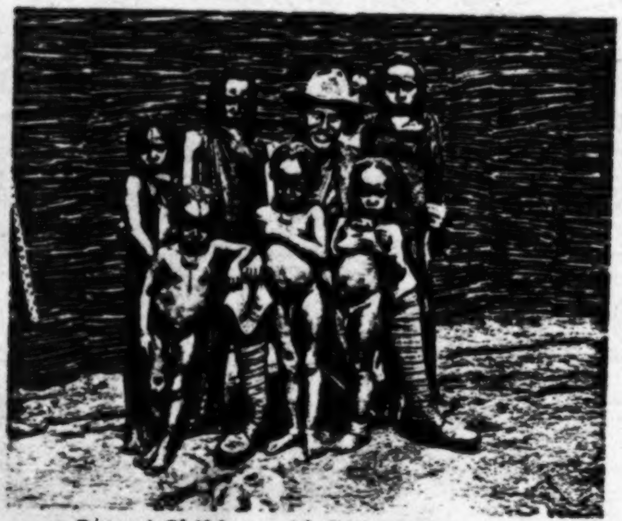
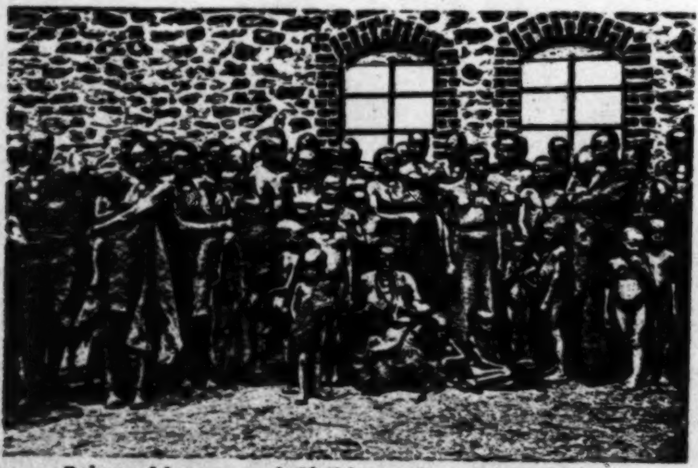
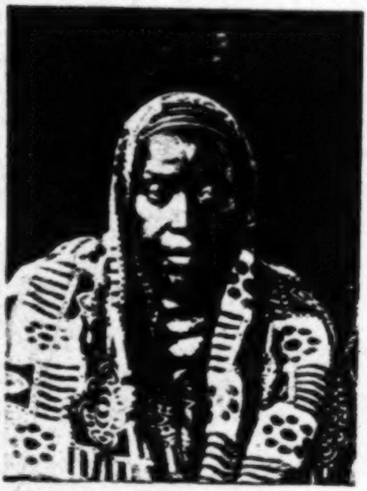


Bátussi Children with European
(Photo. by Captain von Langenn-Steinkeller)

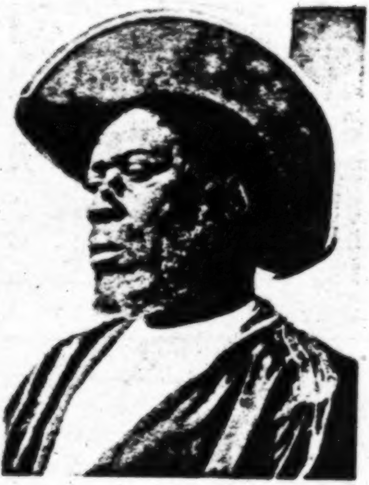


Bahutu Women and Children, Central Urundi
(Photo. by Captain von Langenn-Steinkeller)

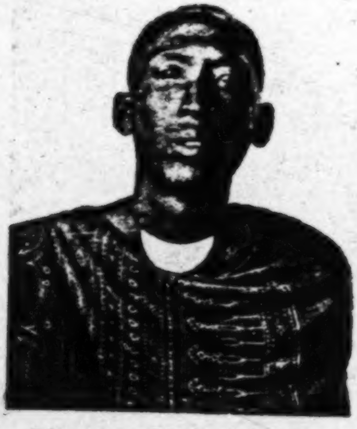
Plate 17



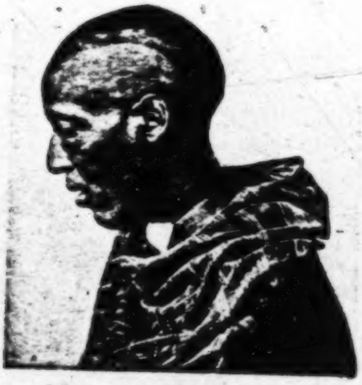
Mother of King Mutaga



Chief Kilima, Northwest Urundi



Muganwa Sindiwironga



Muganwa Kambi

(Photos. by Captain von Langenn)

Plate 18

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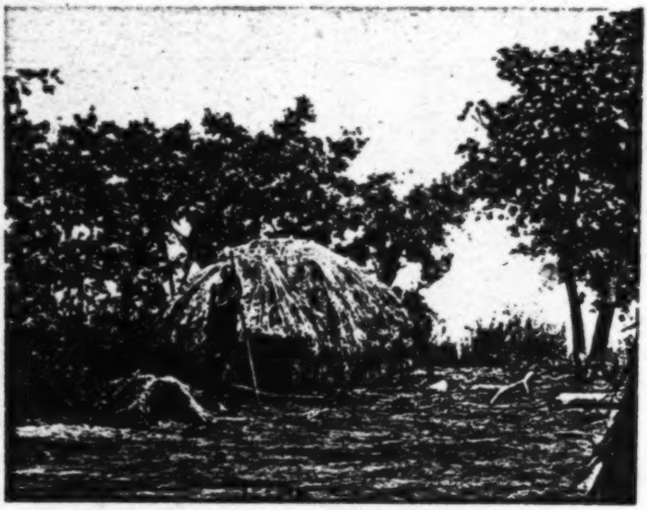

Hut in Northwest Urundi with Little Spirit Hut
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

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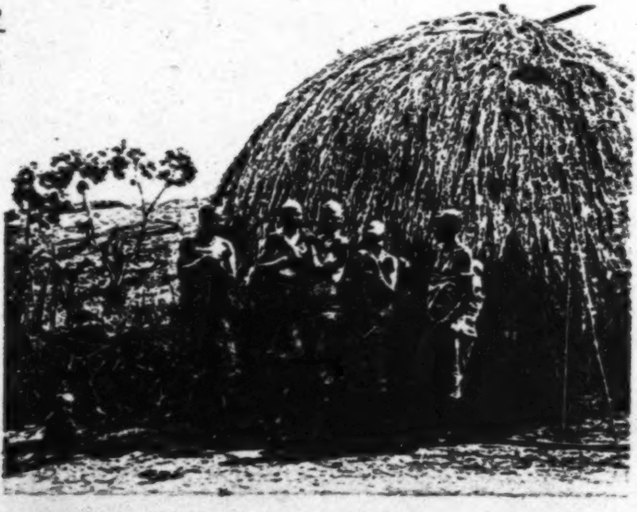
516



Hut in Northwest Urundi with Bahutu Women
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

Plate 19

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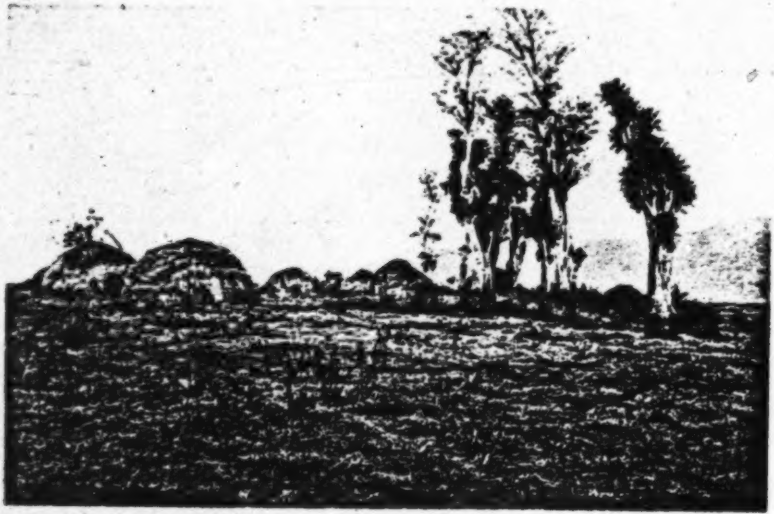
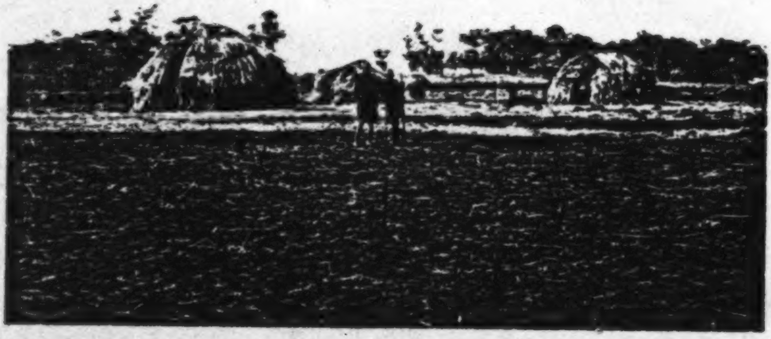


Barundi Village near Kilima, Northwest Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)



Barundi Homestead East of the Muwarasi River, West Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

Plate 20

361
417
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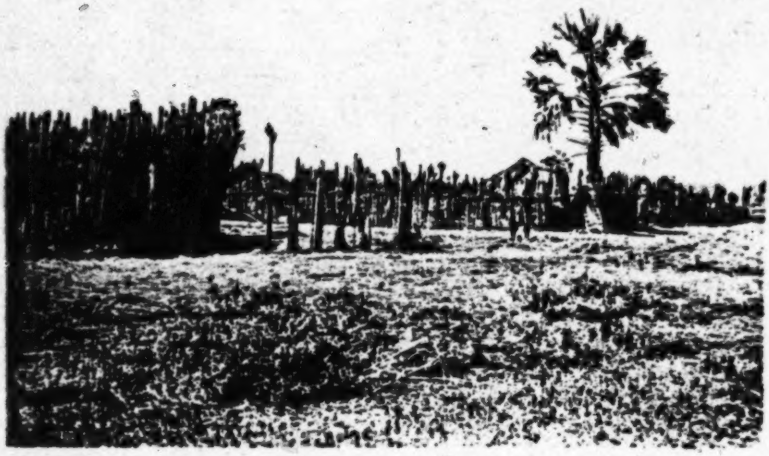

Village with Euphorbia Fence in the Hyphaene Steppe of the Lower Ruzizi River
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

417
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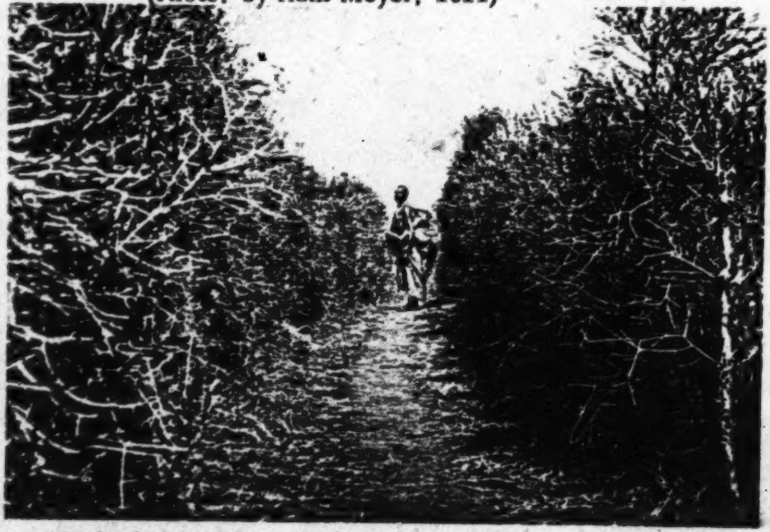

Euphorbia Hedges to Protect the Fields, near Mugera
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

Plate 21

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Barundi Carrying Bamboo Poles for House Construction, near Gitega, Central Urundi
(Photo. by Captain von Langenn-Steinkeller)

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Homestead with Fig Trees for Barkcloth, East of Mujaga, East Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

Plate 22

241

Laying out a Field after Burning Papyrus, Central Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

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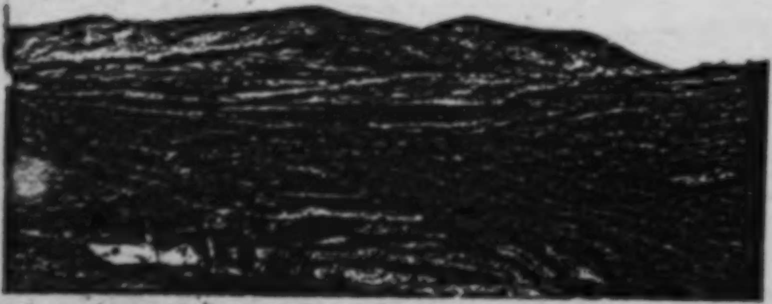

Sweet Potatoe Fields in a Swamp Valley, West Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

Plate 23

Cattle Near Mugera, Central Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

Cattle with Bitterns in the Ruzizi Valley, Northwest Urundi
(Photo. by Captain von Langenn-Steinkeller)

Plate 24

233

Herd of Livestock (Cattle, Sheep, Goats) in South Urundi
(Photo. by Captain von Langenn-Steinkeller)

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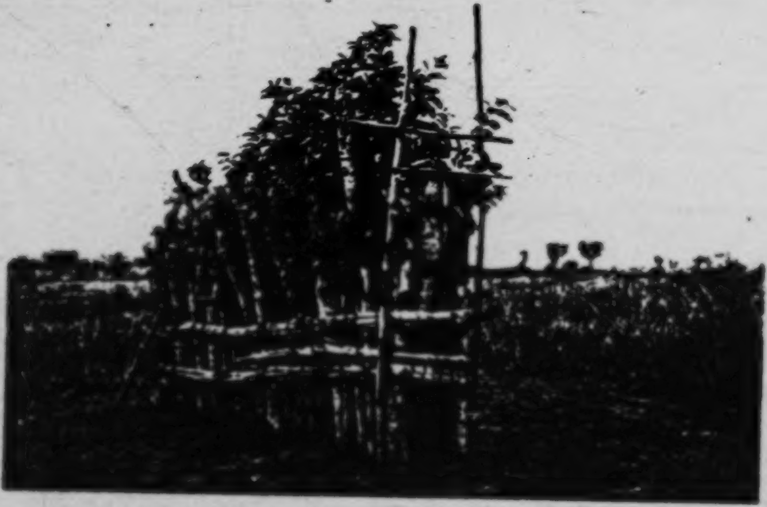
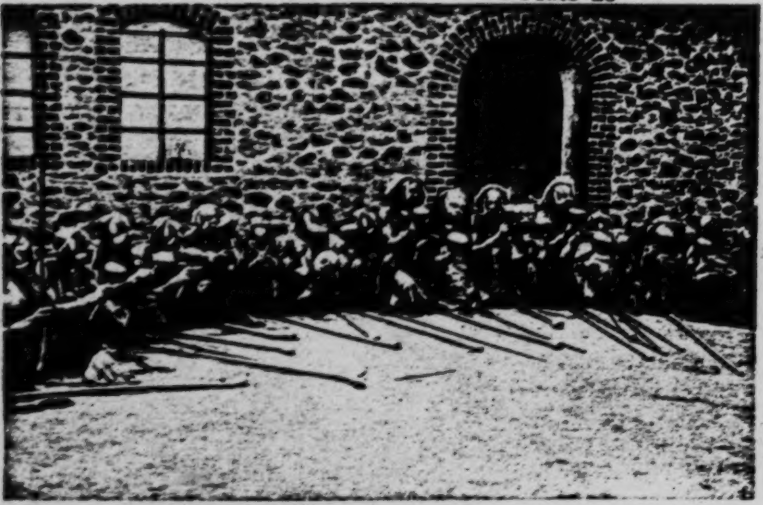


Leopard Trap in South Urundi
(Photo. by Captain von Langenn-Steinkeller)

Plate 25

516



"Cattle Doctors" of King Mutaga During the Exorcizing Ceremony.
(Photo. by J. M. van der Burgt)

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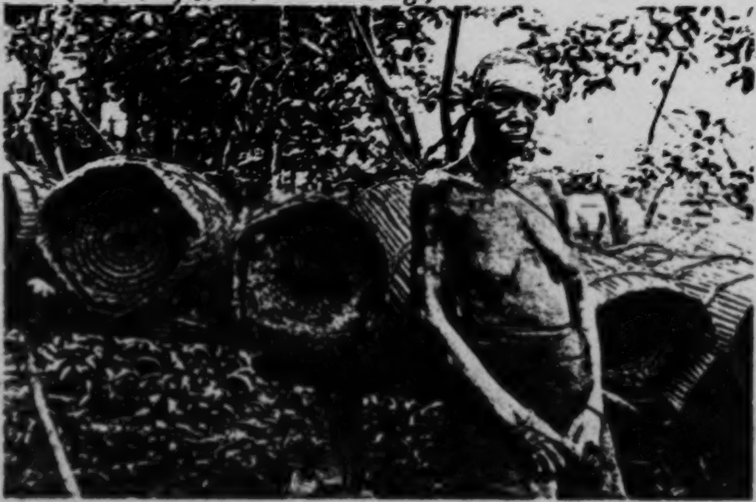

Murundi Woman with Woven Beehives
(Photo. by Captain von Langenn-Steinkeller)

Plate 26

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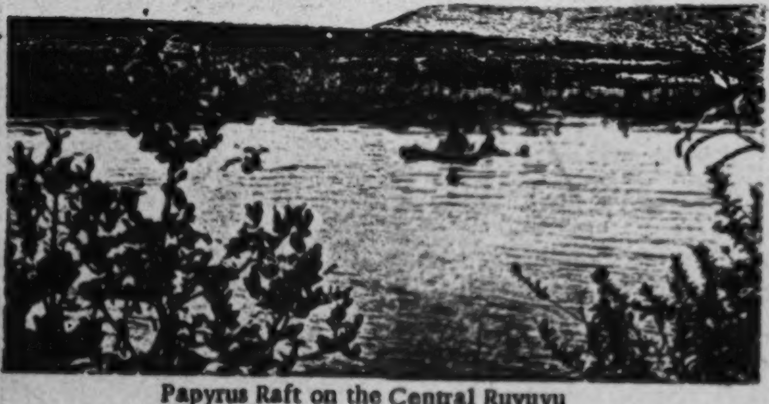
133

Punts on the North Shore of Lake Tanganyika
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)



Papyrus Raft on the Central Ruvuvu
(Photo. by Captain von Langenn-Steinkeller)

Plate 27

482
415

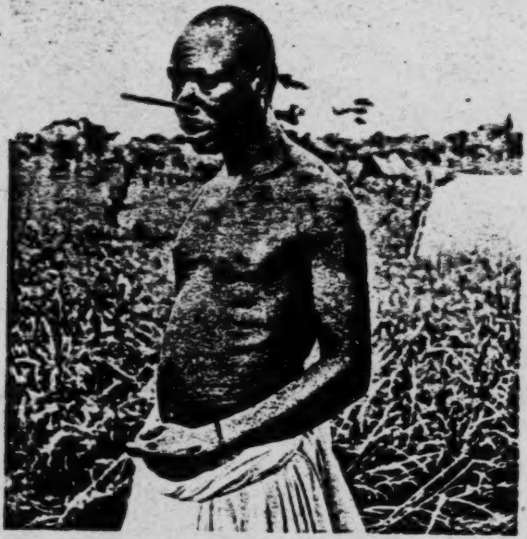
Packs of Salt from the Gottorp Saltworks on the Shore of Lake Tanganyika near Usumbura
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

443
482
415
516
291

Daily Market in Usumbura
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

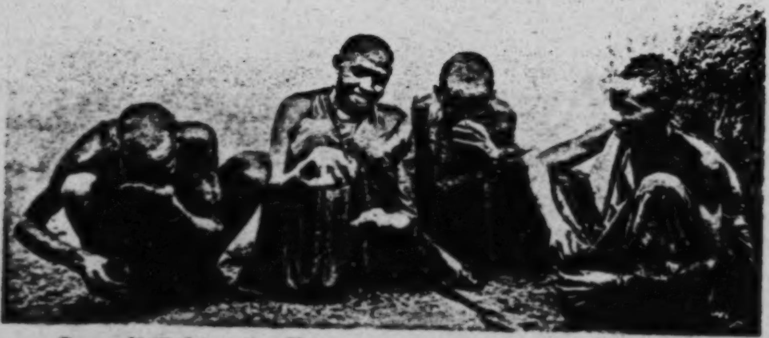
276
142

Plate 28



Murundi Taking Snuff with Nose Clip
(Photo. By Captain Kraut)

[516]



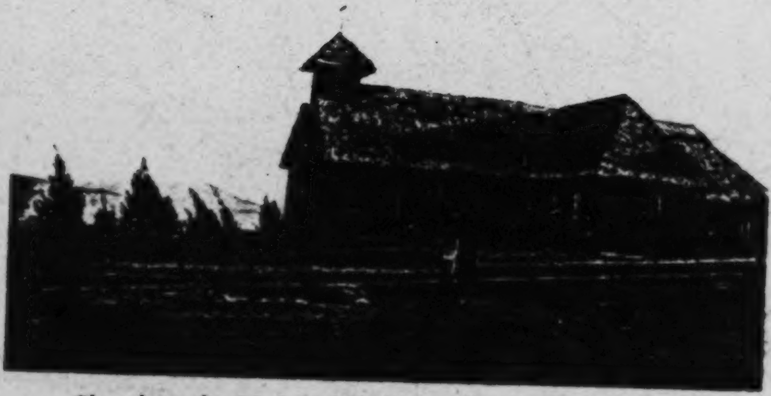
Barundi Taking Snuff by Drawing Tobacco Juice into the Nose
(Photo. by J. M. van der Burgt)

Plate 29

778
137

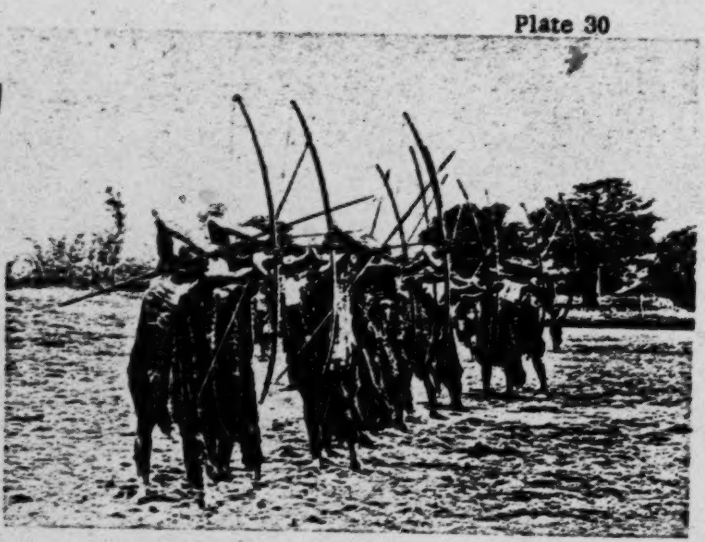
Sacred Grove (Imana) in Central Urundi
(Photo. by J. M. van der Burgt)

346
797

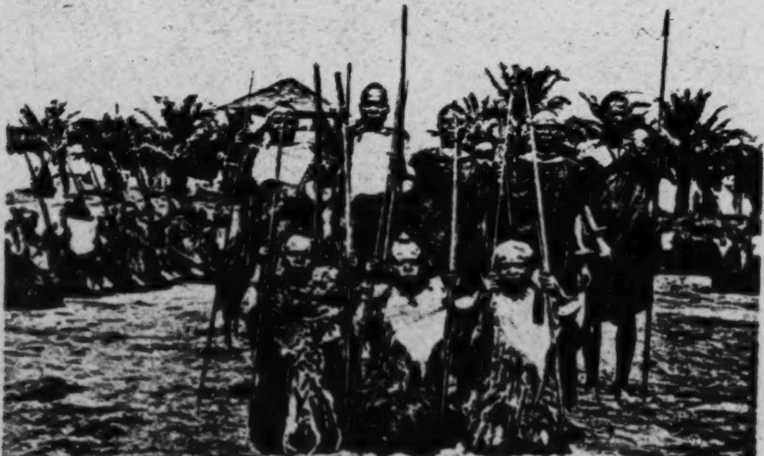


Church at the Mujaga Missionary Station, East Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

Plate 30



Archers in Usumbura
(Photo. by Captain Kraut)



Archers in Usumbura
(Photo. by Captain Kraut)

Plate 31

Barundi Batussi Assembling for a Dance
(Photo. by Captain von Langenn-Steinkeller)

Barundi Dancing near Usumbura
(Photo. by Captain von Langenn-Steinkeller)

Plate 32

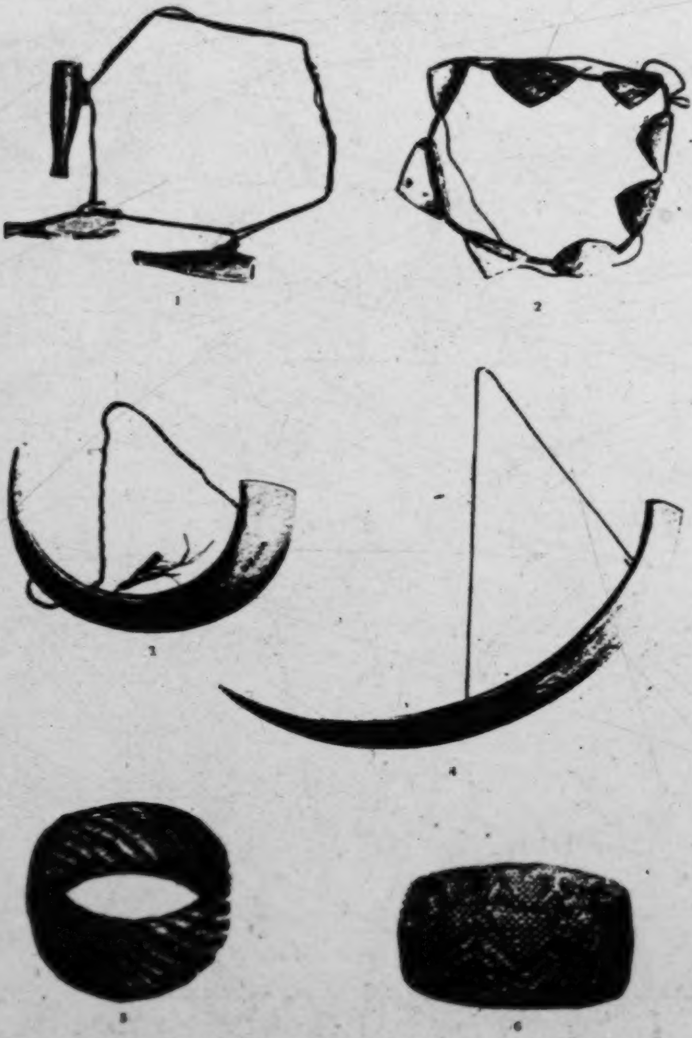
535

War Dance of Barundi in Festive Attire
(Photo. by Captain Kraut)

War Dance of Barundi near Gitega Station
(Photo. by "White Fathers," Urundi)

Plate 33

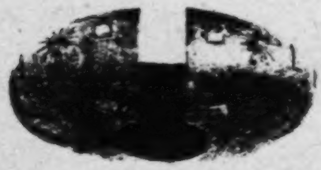
301



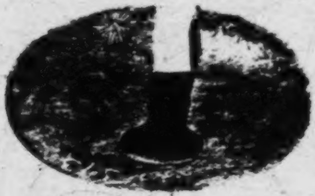
415
285

No. 1) Neck ornament of bone pipes, 3 1/2 centimeters long. No. 2) Neck ornament of polished shells and red beads, 5 centimeters long. No. 3) Neck ornament of the tooth of a hippopotamus, 14 centimeters long. No. 4) Neck ornament of hippopotamus tooth, 20 centimeters long. No. 5) Bottle stand plaited of straw, 14 centimeters wide. (All at Ethnological Museum, Berlin.)

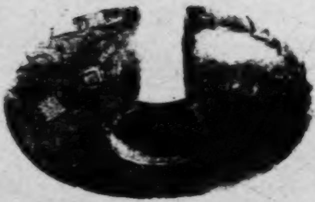
Plate 34



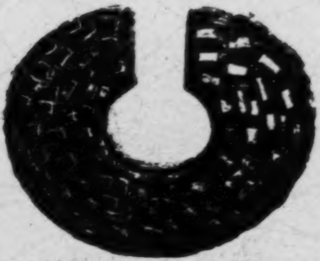
1



2



3



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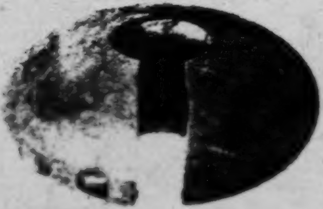


5

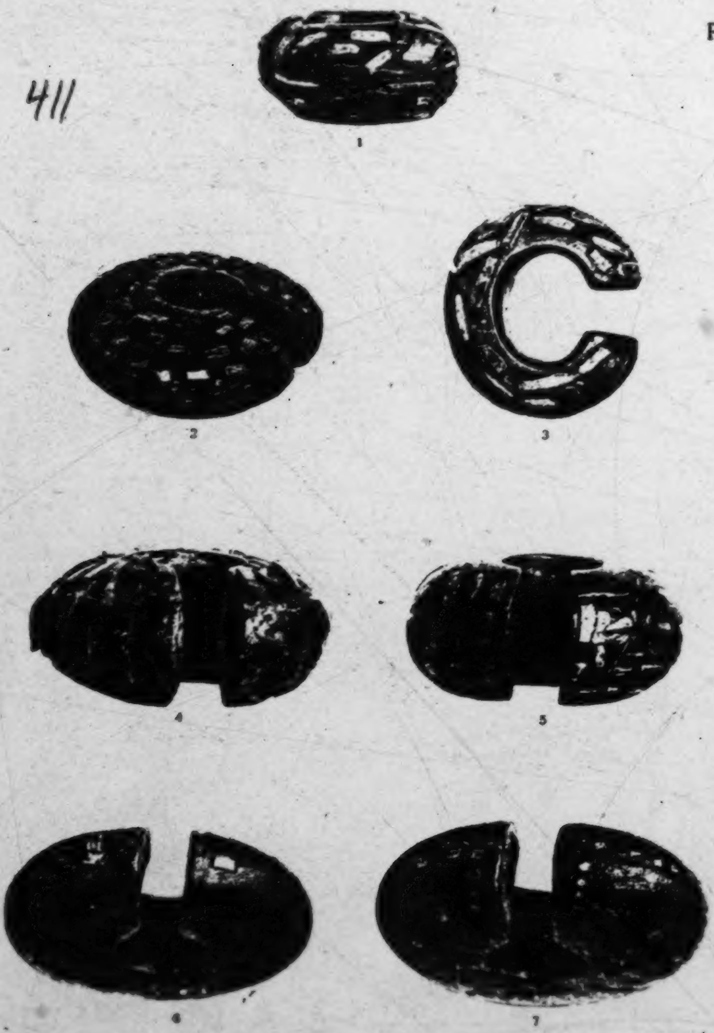
6

Wooden Arm Discs; Some with Inlaid Metal Plates to Protect Wrist against Recoil of Bowstring.

Nos. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6) 12-17 centimeters in diameter; Ethnological Museum, Berlin.

No. 4) 14 centimeters in diameter; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig.

Plate 35

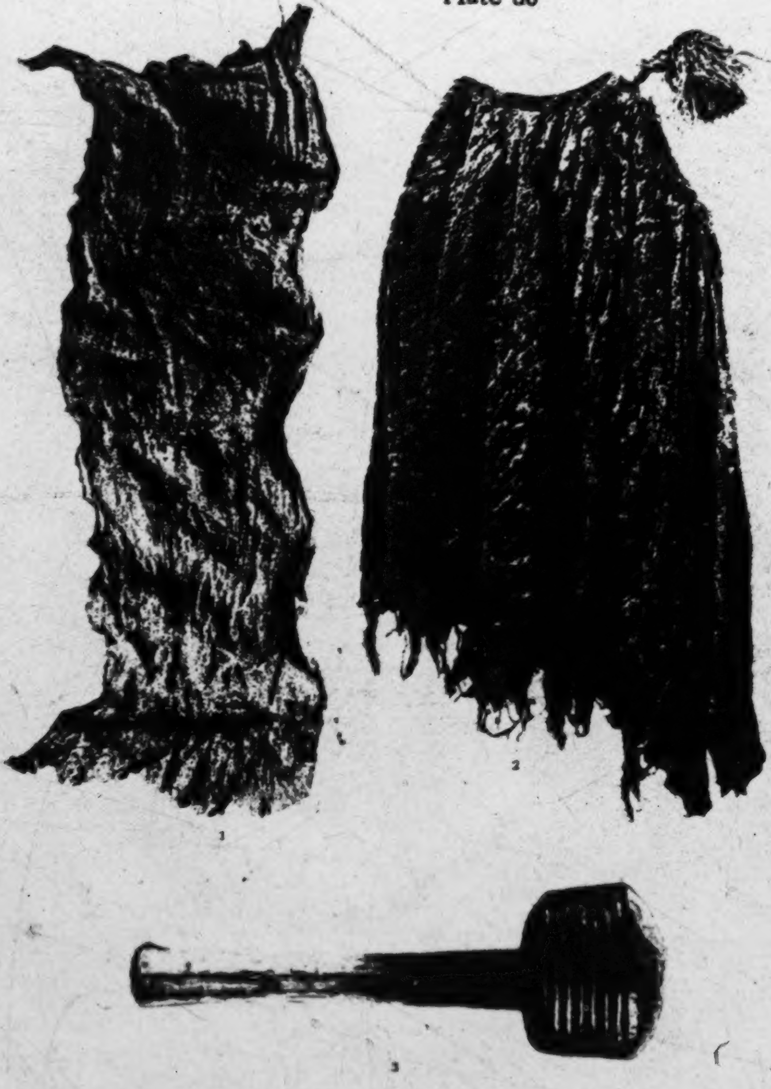


Wooden Arm Discs; Some with Inlaid Metal
Plates to Protect Wrist against Recoil of Bowstring.

Nos. 1-5) 12-16 centimeters in diameter; Ethnological Museum, Berlin.
Nos. 6, 7) 15 centimeters in diameter; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig.

Plate 36

287
291



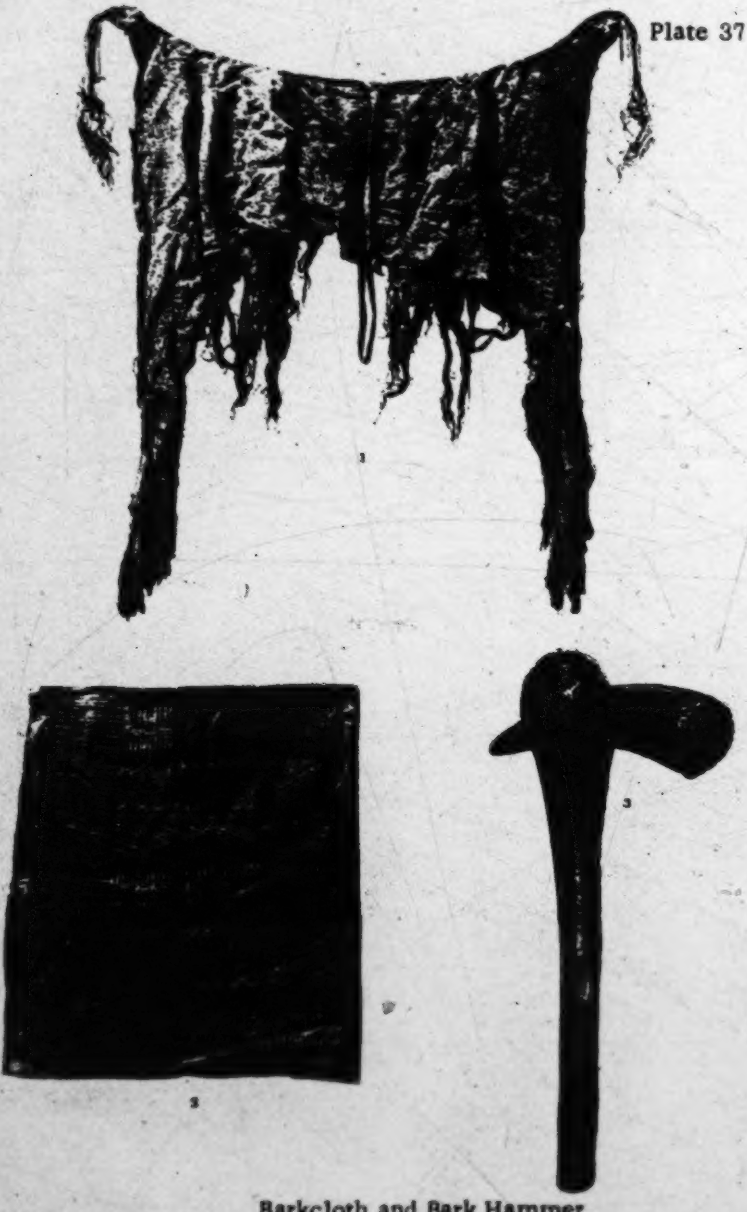
4/2

Barkcloth and Bark Hammer; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig.

No. 1) Milled piece of material made of fig bark, not yet processed, 140 centimeters long. — No. 2) Processed cloak of fig barkcloth with shoulder tassel of banana bast; 135 centimeters long. — No. 3) Wooden hammer for pounding the fig bark, 32 centimeters long.

Plate 37

287
291

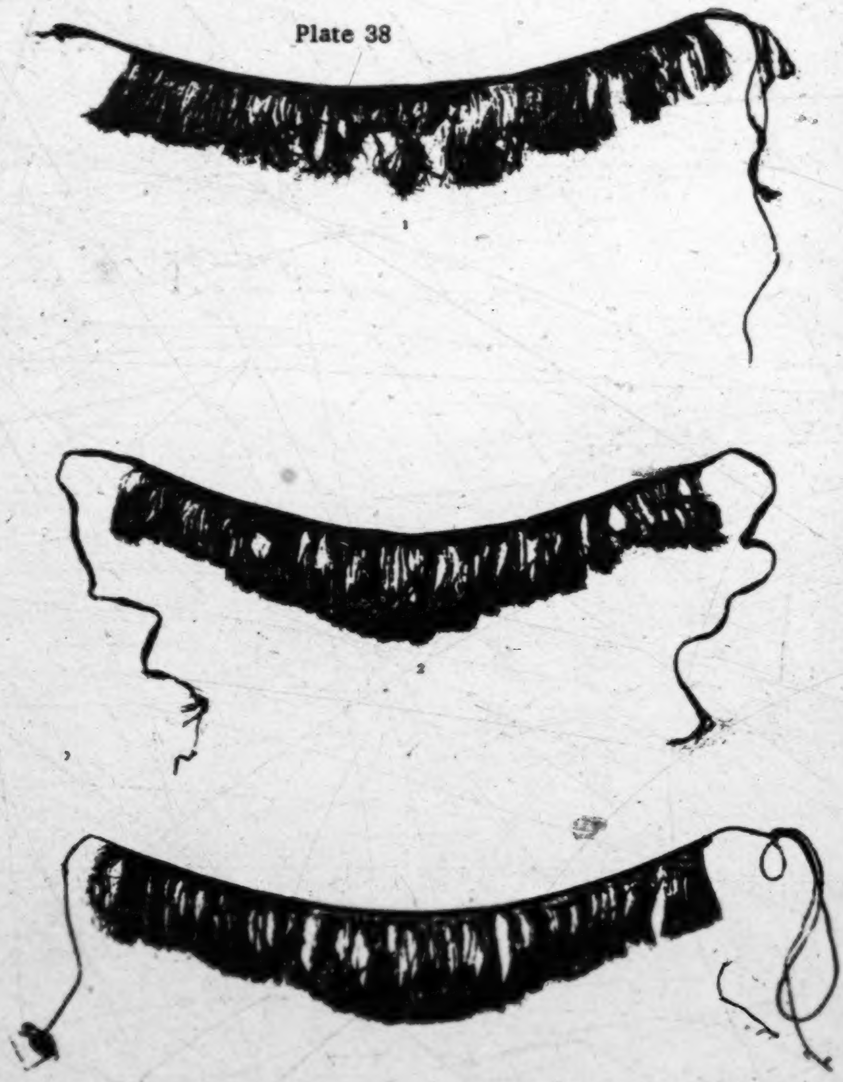


287
531
412

Barkcloth and Bark Hammer.

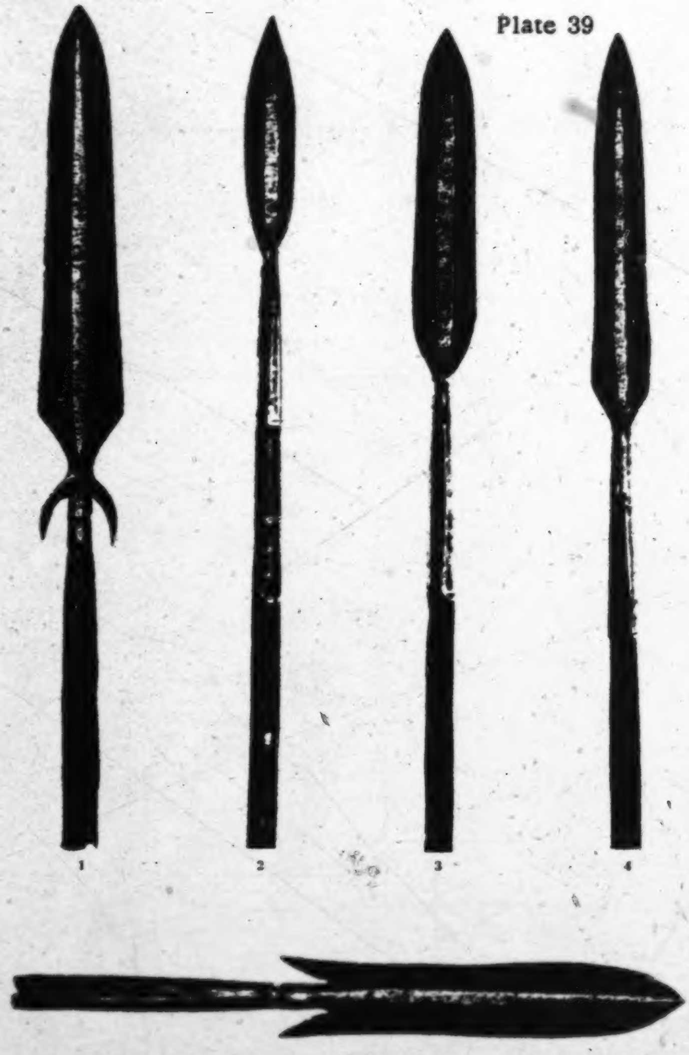
No. 1) Upper garment of fig barkcloth with bast ribbons, 100 centimeters wide; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig. — No. 2) Painted mat of fig barkcloth, 98 centimeters wide; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig. — No. 3) Wooden hammer for pounding fig bark, 42 centimeters long; Ethnological Museum, Berlin.

Plate 38



Loincloths of Banana Bast for Little Girls.
58 to 62 centimeters long; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig.

Plate 39

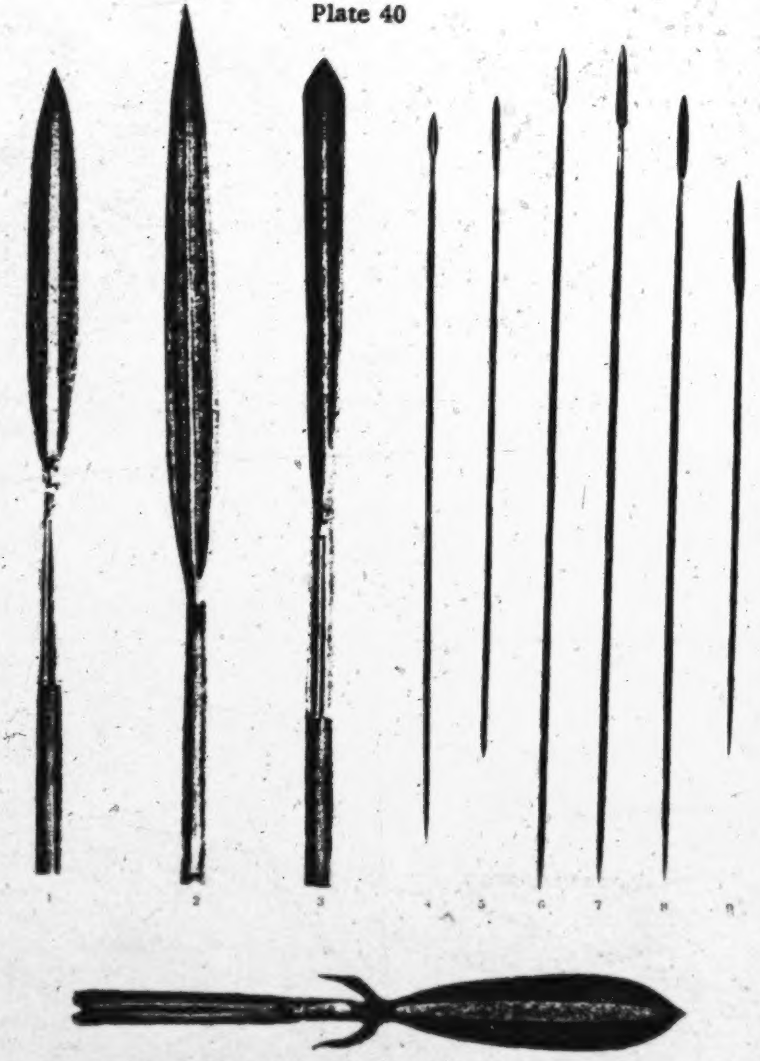


Iron Spear Points; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig.

No. 1) 30 centimeters; No. 2) 16 centimeters; No. 3) 24 centimeters; No. 4) 27 centimeters; No. 5) 24 centimeters.

Plate 40

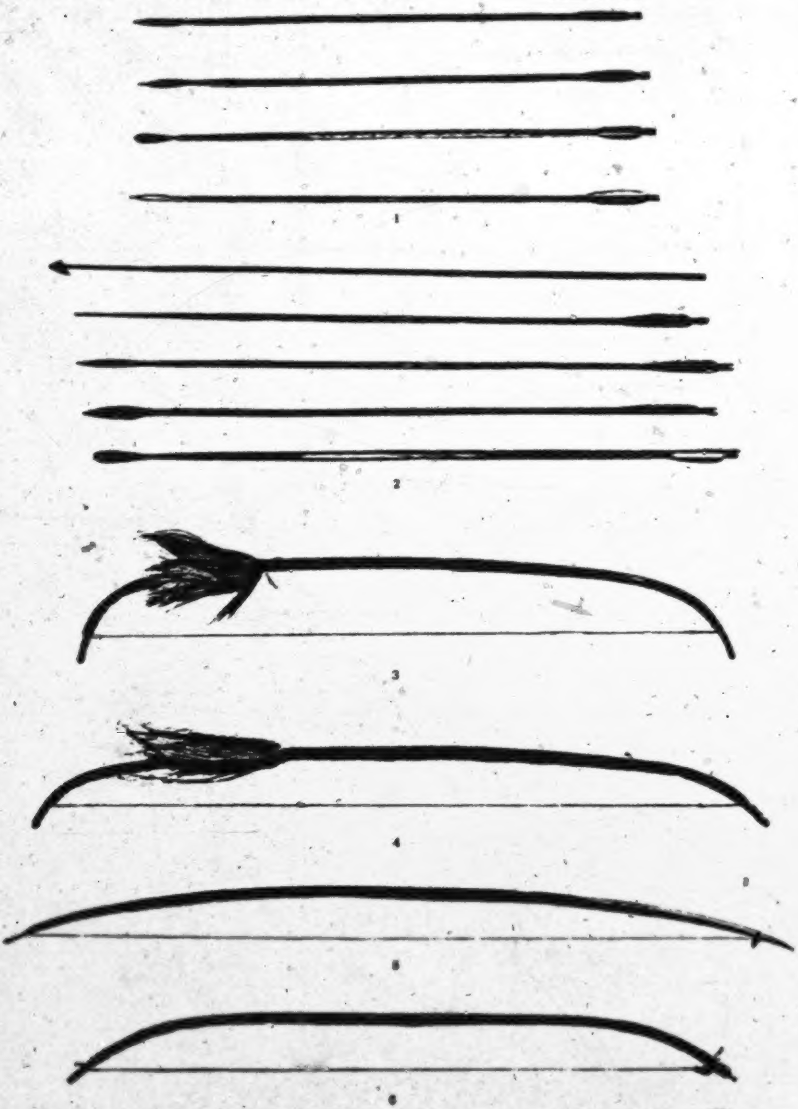
411



Iron Spear Points and Complete Spears; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig.

No. 1) 23 centimeters; No. 2) 32 centimeters; No. 3) 28 centimeters; No. 10) 22 centimeters; Nos. 4-9) 1.70 to 2.40 meters.

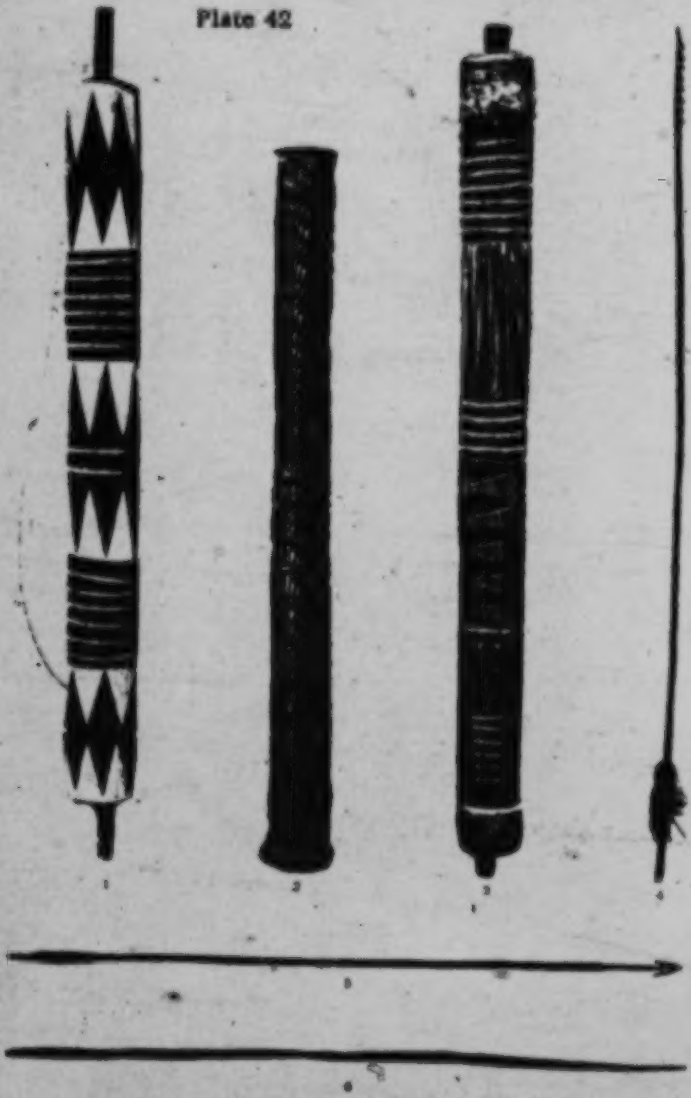
Plate 41



Bows and Arrows; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig.
Nos. 1, 2) With iron points, 72 to 76 centimeters; Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6) 145 to 166 centimeters.

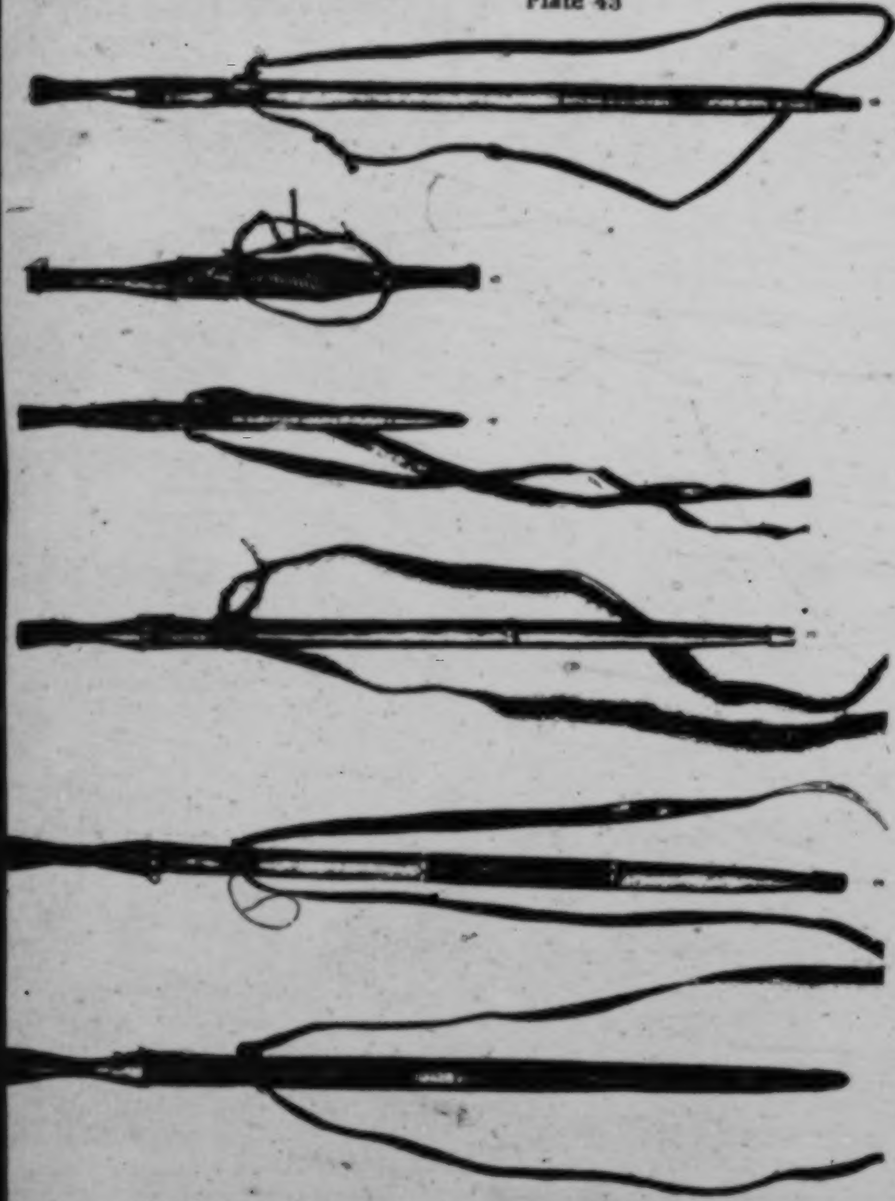
Plate 42

411
531



Quivers and Arrows; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig. No. 1) Carved of wood, 110 centimeters; No. 2) Plaited of reed, 90 centimeters; No. 3) Carved of wood, 97 centimeters; No. 4) With serrated wooden point, 95 centimeters; No. 5) With iron point, 92 centimeters; No. 6) With smooth wooden point, 95 centimeters.

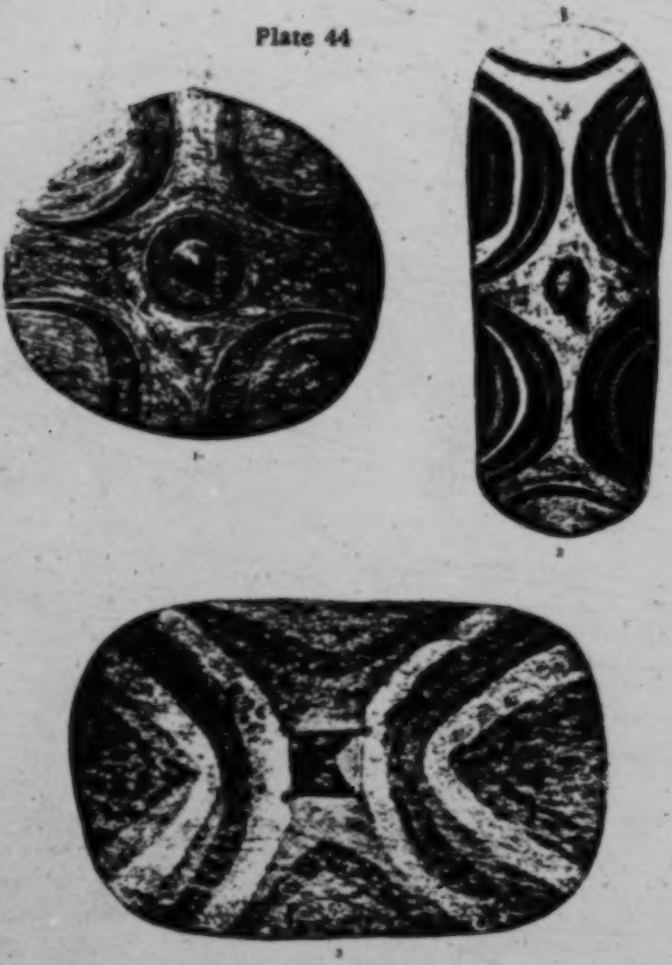
Plate 43



Knives in Wooden Sheaths Wound with Copper Wire and with Leather Straps; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig.

No. 1) 51 centimeters; No. 2) 52 centimeters; No. 3) 52 centimeters; No. 4) 30 centimeters; No. 5) 31 centimeters; No. 6) 67 centimeters.

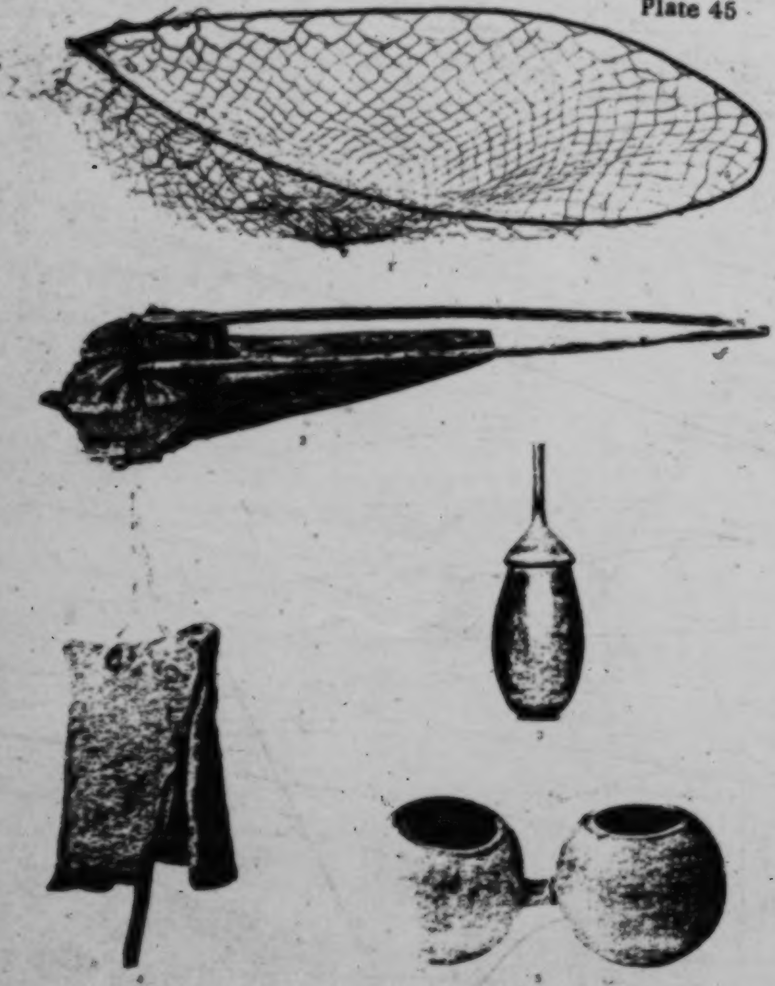
Plate 44



Painted Wooden Shields; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig.

No. 1) 60 centimeters high; No. 2) 85 centimeters high;
No. 3) 80 centimeters high.

Plate 45 227



325

[415]

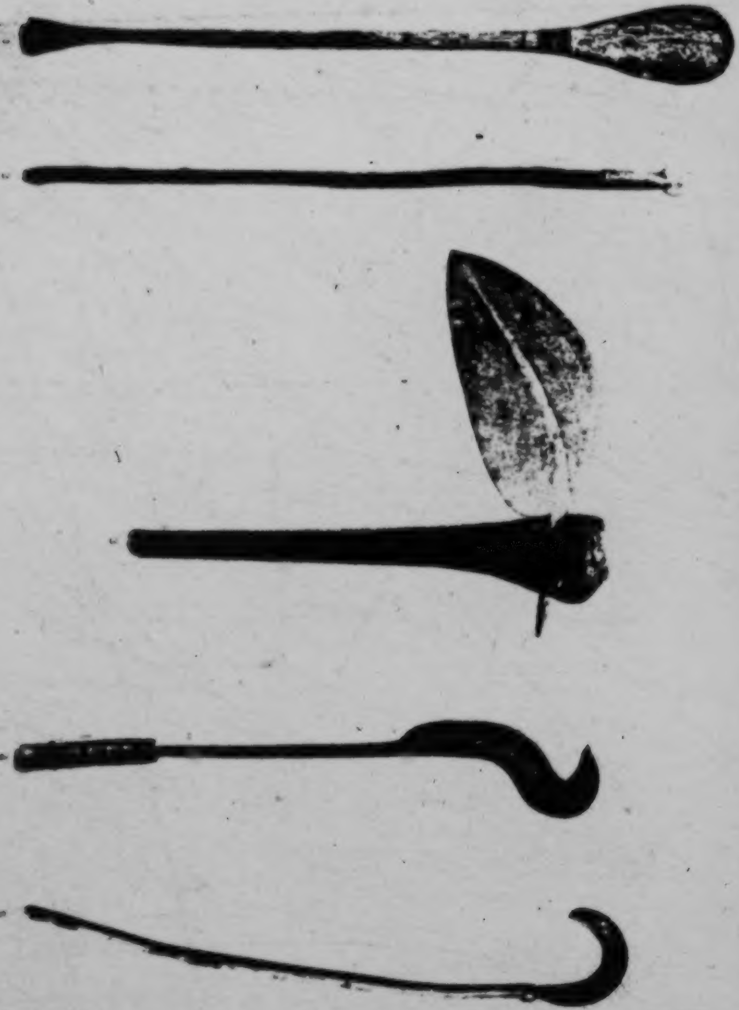
[834]

[415]

Implements Used in the Household, Fishing, and Field Work;

No. 1) Fish net of bast strings, 120 centimeters long; No. 2) Vessel bellows of wood and goat skin, 97 centimeters long; No. 3) Wooden milk bottle, 28 centimeters; No. 4) Iron cattle bell, 14 centimeters; No. 5) Wooden double container for butter, 20 centimeters wide.

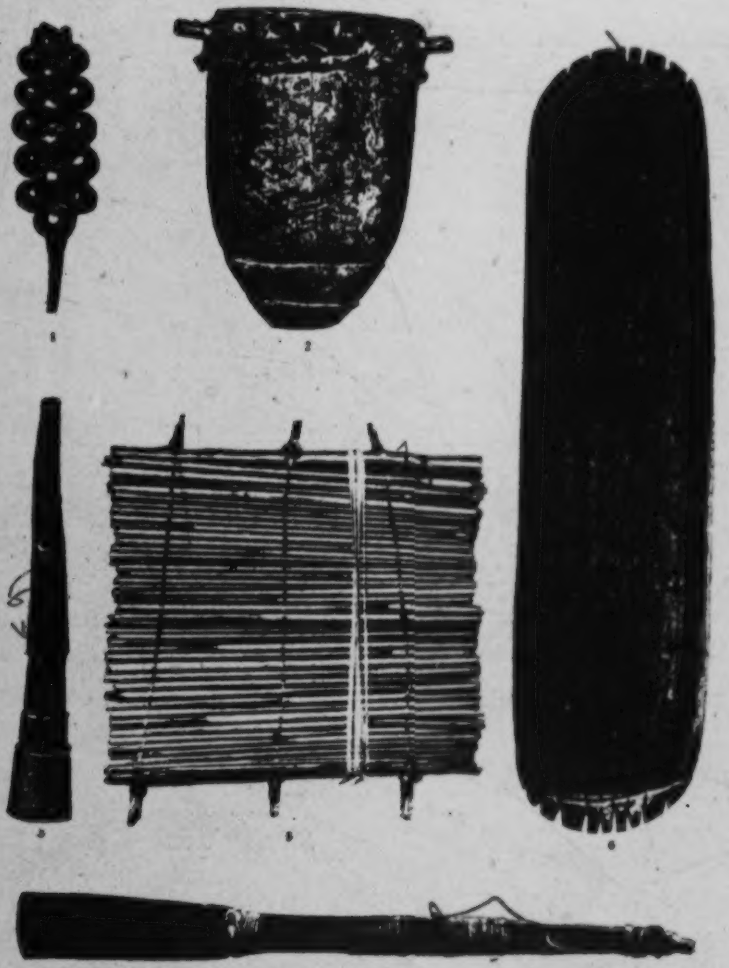
Plate 46



Agricultural and Household Implements; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig.

No. 1) Carved piece of wood for stirring millet gruel, 68 centimeters; No. 2) Digging stick with iron point, 150 centimeters; No. 3) Iron hoe for field work with wooden handle, 47 centimeters long; No. 4) Iron slashing knife for field work, 53 centimeters long; No. 5) Sickle for cutting bananas, 76 centimeters long.

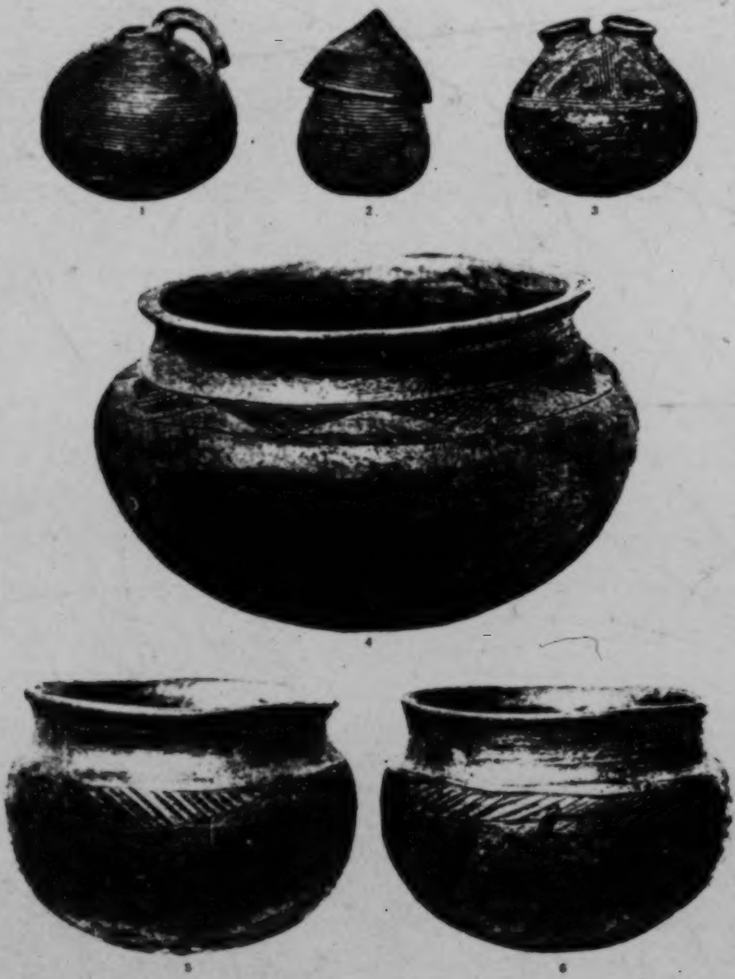
Plate 47



Musical Instruments (Nos. 1, 2, 5, Ethnological Museum, Berlin; Nos. 3, 4, 6, Ethnological Museum, Leipzig.
No. 1) Rattle of gourds, 32 centimeters long; No. 2) Wooden drum covered with cattle hide, 66 centimeters high; Nos. 3, 4) Wooden flutes with a cover of sewn cattle hide, 40 and 62 centimeters long; No. 5) Rattle board of reed, 18 centimeters long; No. 6) Wooden bowl-shaped zither, 72 centimeters long.

Plate 48

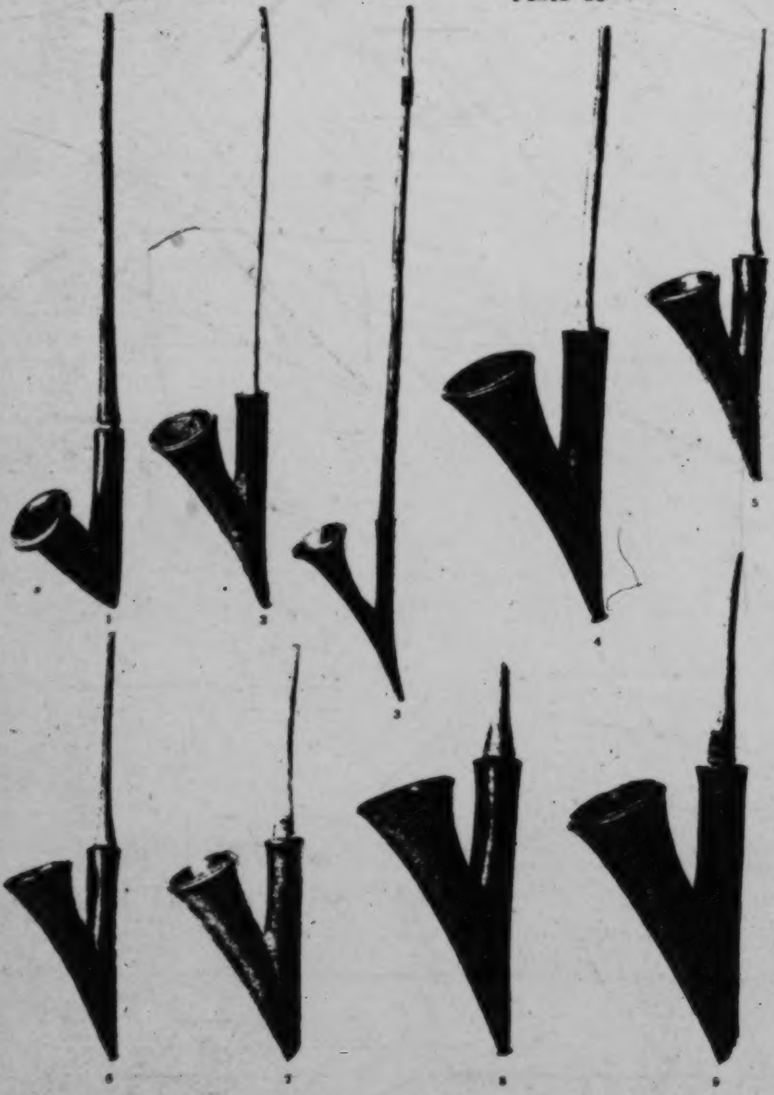
415
323
531



Earthenware Pots.

Nos. 1, 2, 3) Earthenware vessels for liquids, 18 to 20 centimeters high; Ethnological Museum, Berlin. – Nos. 4, 5, 6) Earthenware cooking pots, 14 to 22 centimeters high; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig.

Plate 49

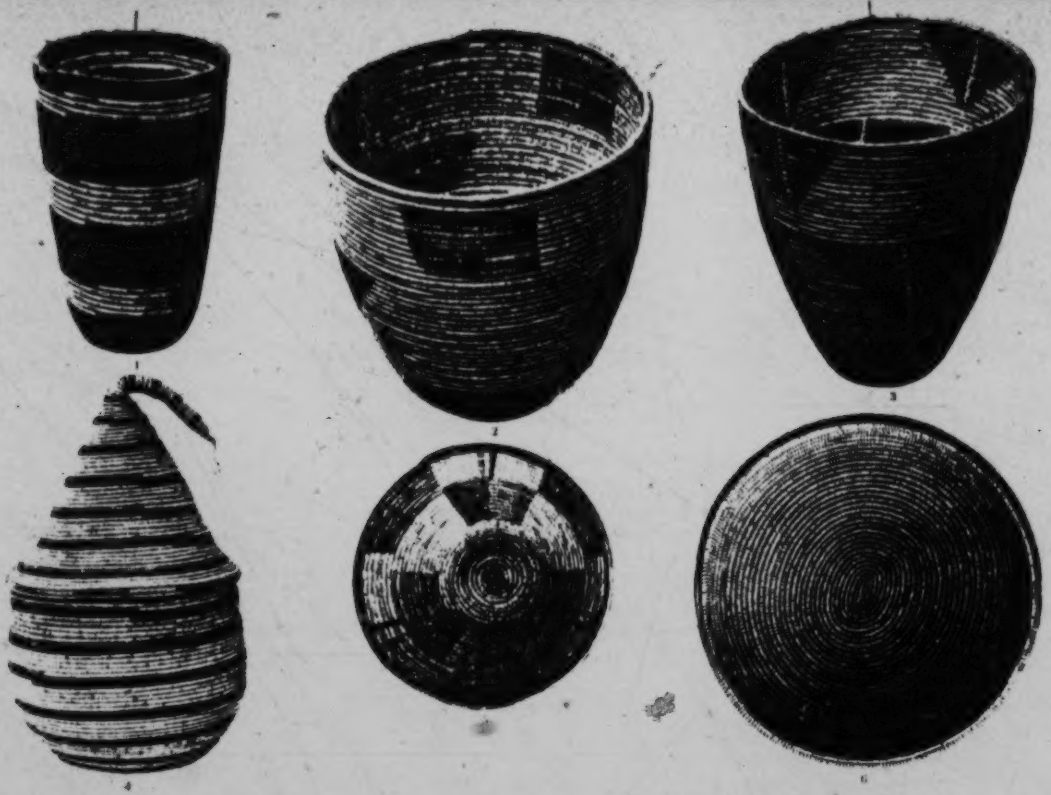


Tobacco Pipes of Black Clay, 12 to 16 Centimeters Long.

Nos. 1, 2, 3, 6-9, Ethnological Museum, Leipzig; Nos. 4, 5, Ethnological Museum, Berlin.

2: Meyer--284 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 50



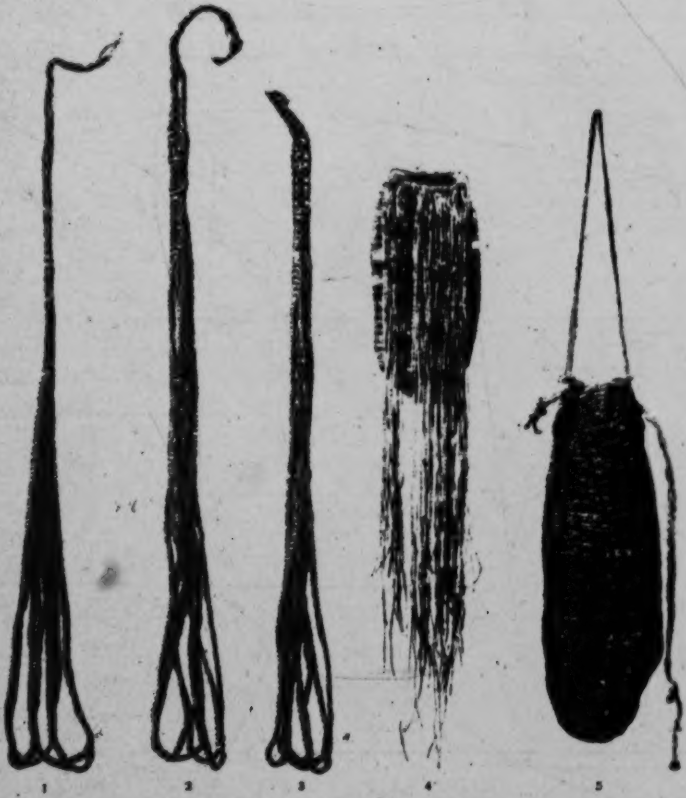
415
285
531

Baskets and Plates for Grain, Flour, etc., Woven of Straw; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig.

No. 1) 20 centimeters high; No. 2) 23 centimeters high; No. 3) 21 centimeters high; No. 4) 60 centimeters high; No. 5) 19 centimeters in diameter; No. 6) 28 centimeters in diameter

Plate 51

283
482
415

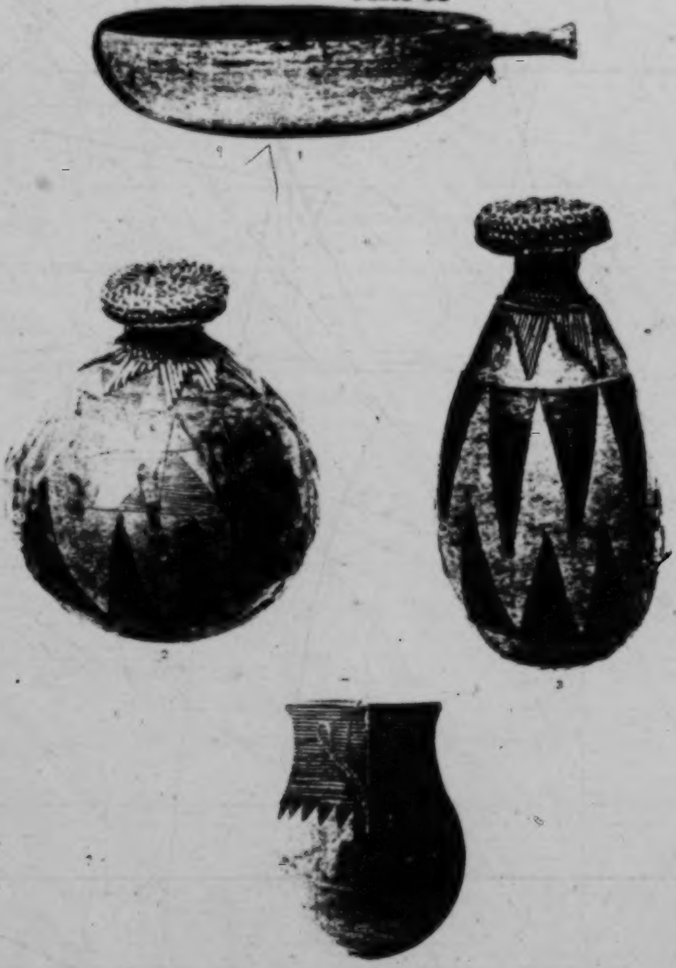


Plaited Ropes for Burden Carrying and Plaited Bags for Provisions, Tobacco, etc., Ethnological Museum, Leipzig.

Nos. 1, 2, 3) 100 to 112 centimeters long; No. 4) 48 centimeters long without strings; No. 5) 64 centimeters long without strings.

Plate 52

322
415
531

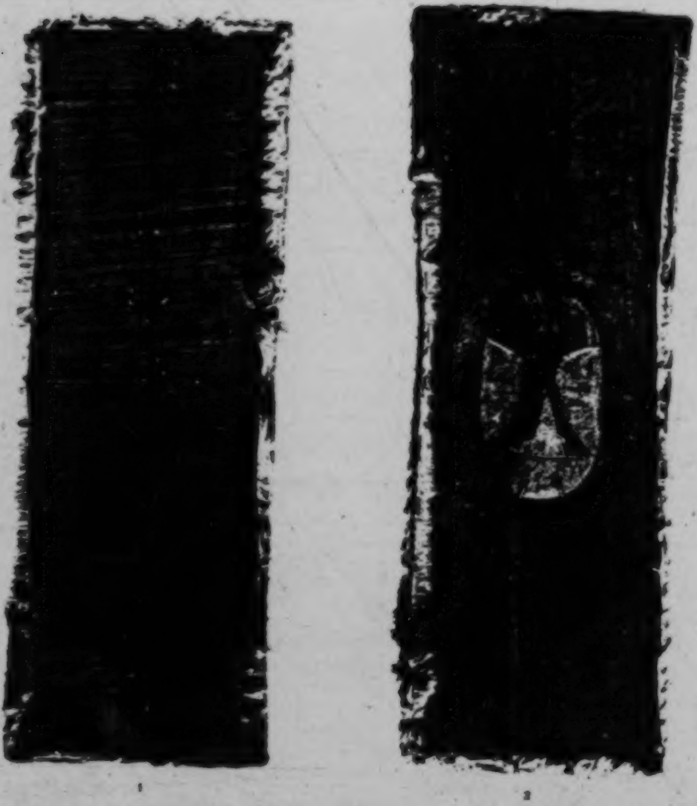


Household Utensils of Wood and Gourds; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig.

No. 1) Wooden bowl for grain, flour, etc., 35 centimeters long; No. 2) Decorated bottle gourd for milk, 12 centimeters high; No. 3) Decorated bottle gourd, 16 centimeters high; No. 4) Wooden vessel for butter, 20 centimeters high.

Plate 53

411
285



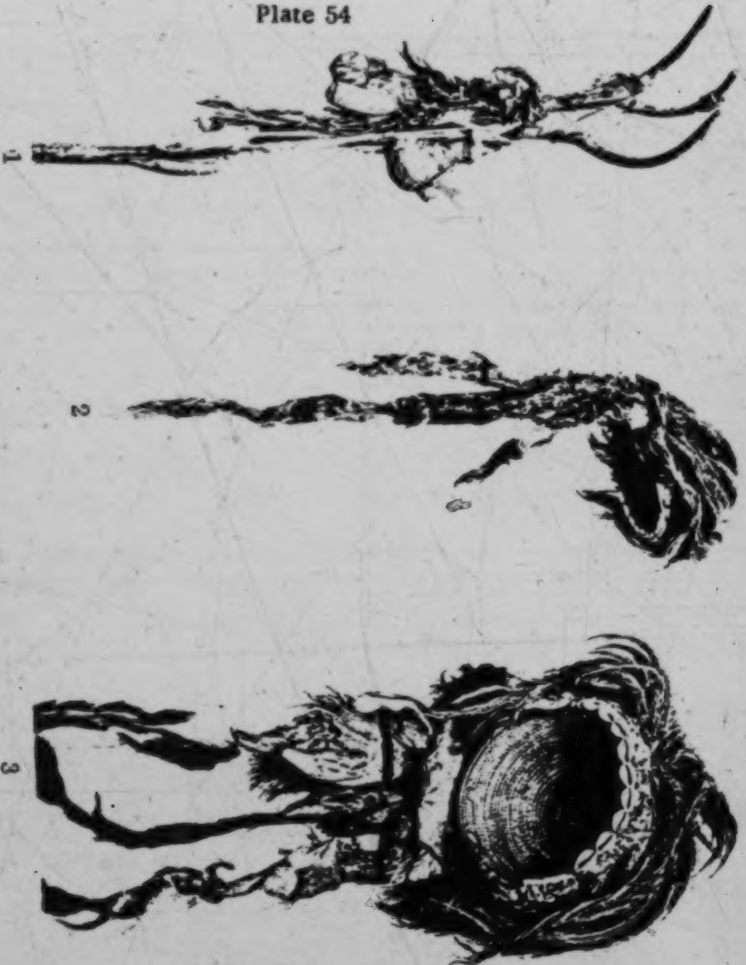
Shield Plaited of Reed.
No. 1) Front; No. 2) Back with wooden handle, 122 centimeters long; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig.

Plate 54

751
789

292

[285]

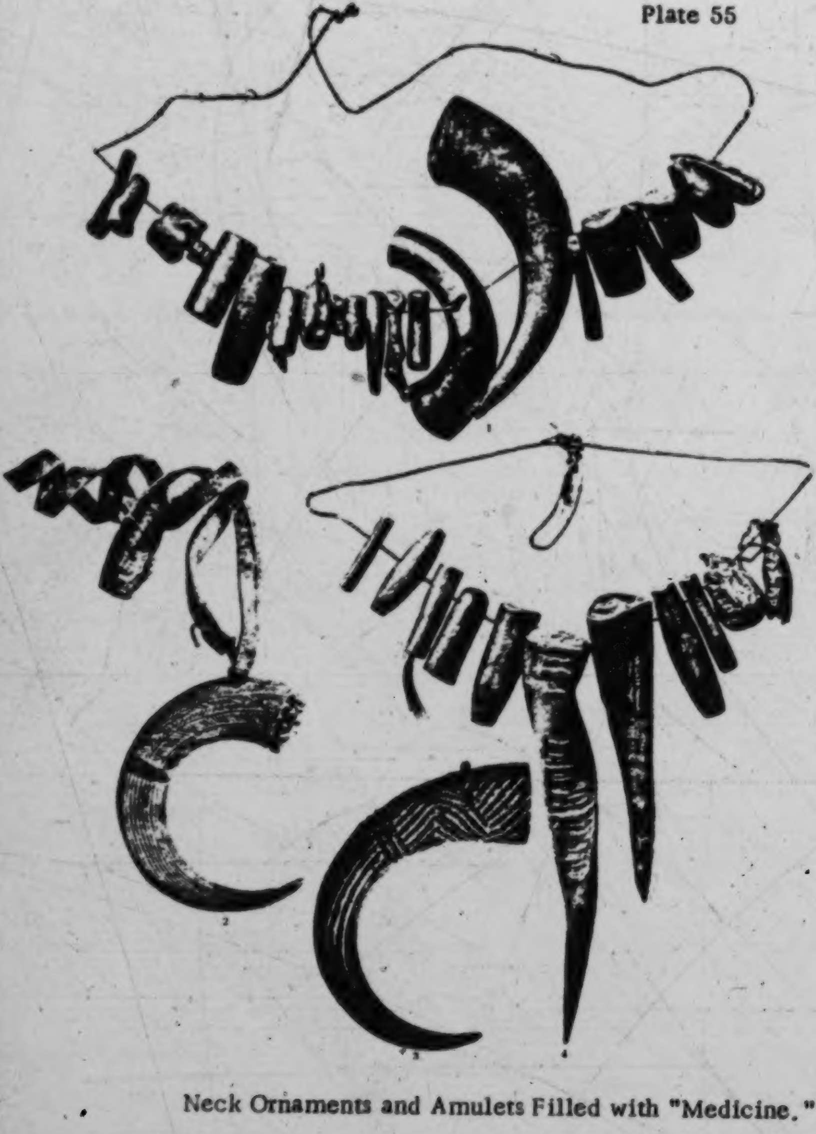


Headdresses and Amulets; Ethnological Museum, Berlin.

No. 1) Bifurcated stick with medicine amulets in plaited satchels, 82 centimeters long; Nos. 2, 3) Plaited dancing caps with goat hair and cowrie shells, 68 and 80 centimeters long.

Plate 55

301
751
789
321



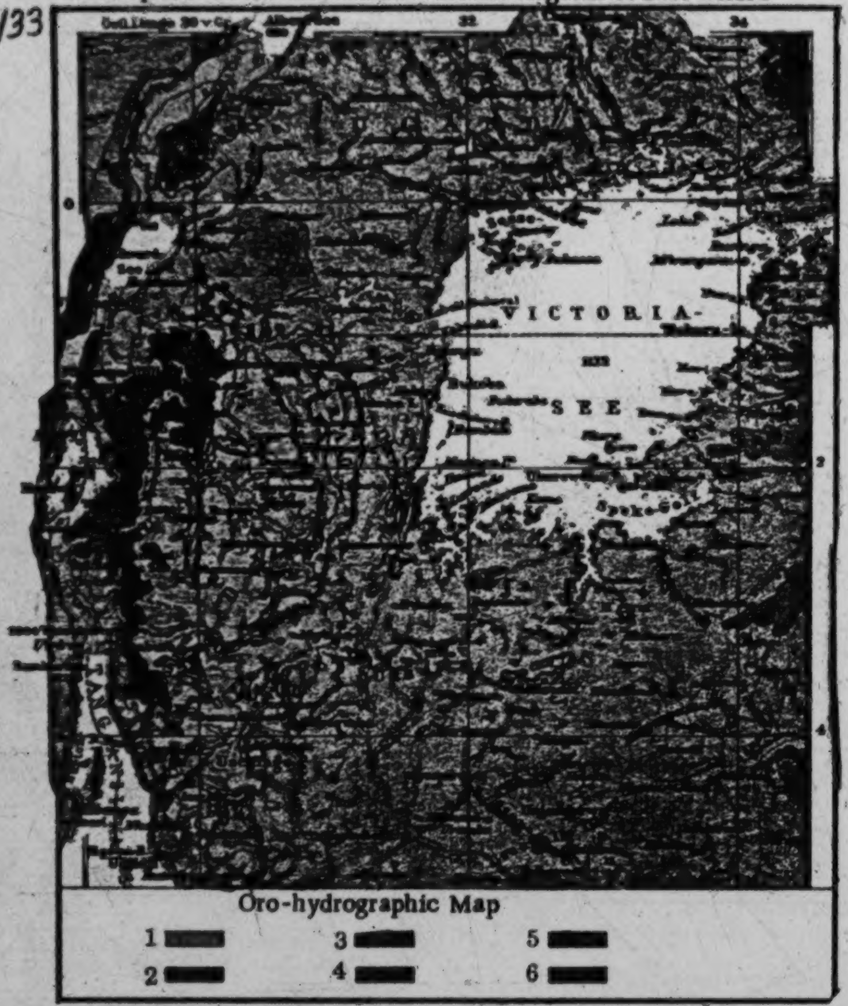
Neck Ornaments and Amulets Filled with "Medicine."

Nos. 1, 4) Goat horns, pieces of bone, wooden sticks, 16 and 20 centimeters wide; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig. – Nos. 2, 3) Carved cattle horns, 9 and 10 centimeters long; Ethnological Museum, Berlin.

2: Meyer--290 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Maps of the Central Interlacustrine Regions of East Africa

133


32
34
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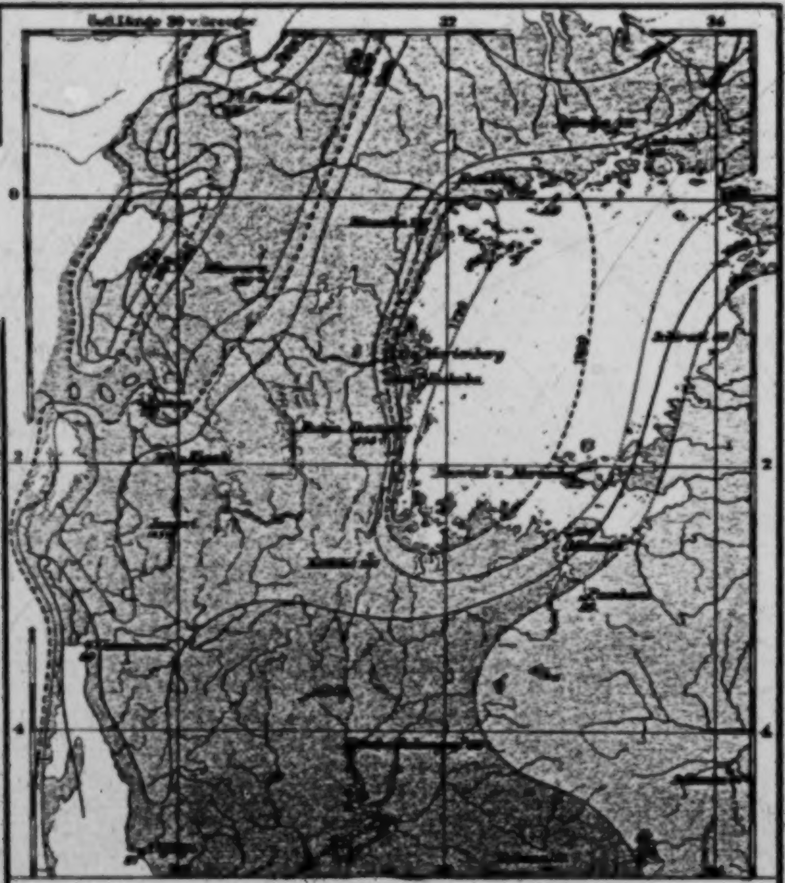
2
4
VICTORIA-
SEE
Speke-Golf
TANG
Oro-hydrographic Map
1
2
3
4
5
6

1. under 1,000 meters
2. 2,000 - 3,000 meters
3. 1,000 - 1,500 meters
4. 3,000 - 4,000 meters
5. 1,500 - 2,000 meters
6. 4,000 - 5,000 meters

[End map, upper left, in color]

2: Meyer--291 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42



Precipitation Map according to H. Maurer, P. Heidke and W. Pietsch.

1 ☐ 2 ▨ 3 ▨ 4 ■ 5 ▨

Annual Rainfall in Millimeters:

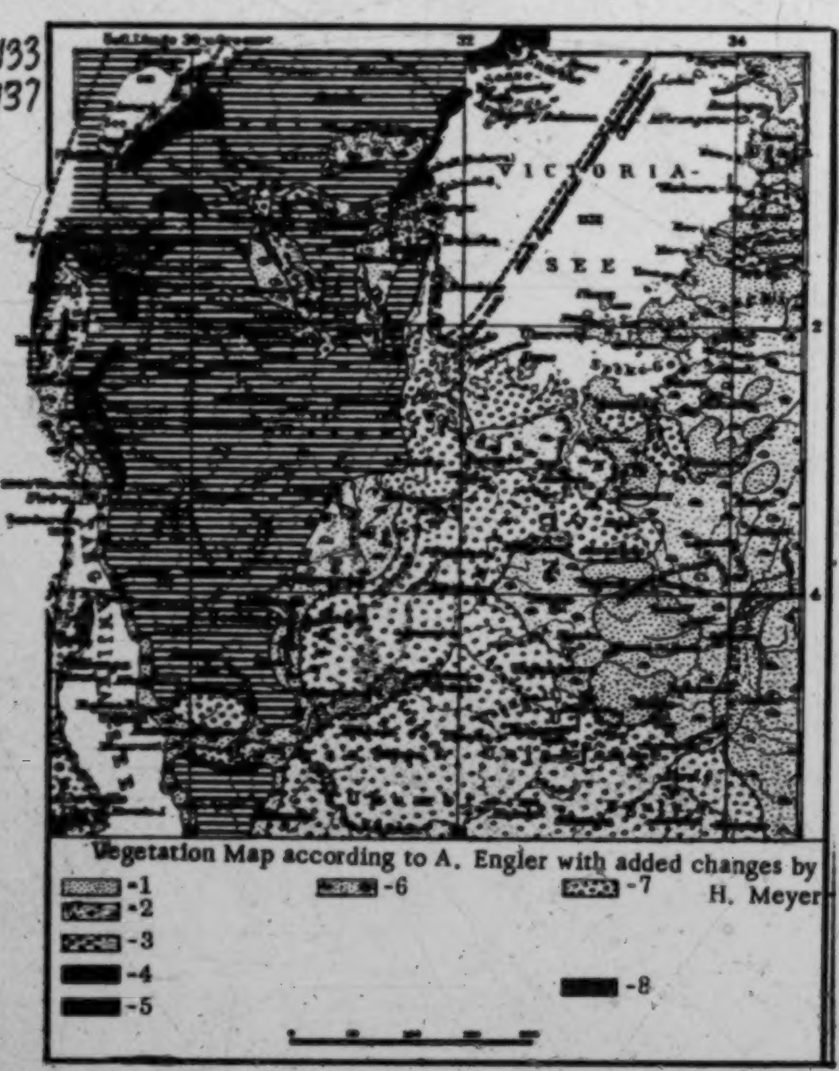
1. 500-750
2. 750-1000
3. 1000-1500
4. 1500-2000
5. over 2000

The annual totals and stations (x) given in centimeters.

[End map, upper right, in color]

2: Meyer--292 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

133
137



Vegetation Map according to A. Engler with added changes by H. Meyer

1. Salt steppe.
2. Alluvial plain with West African forms.
3. Alluvial plain, region with little rain, frequently parklike.
4. Tropical rain forest of plains and mountains.
5. Forest and high altitudes, or forest where fog is common.
6. Dry brushland, also mountain brush, partly non-deciduous forms, in some places with trees, and frequently turning into blish and bush and tree steppe.

(continued)

[End map, lowerleft, in color]

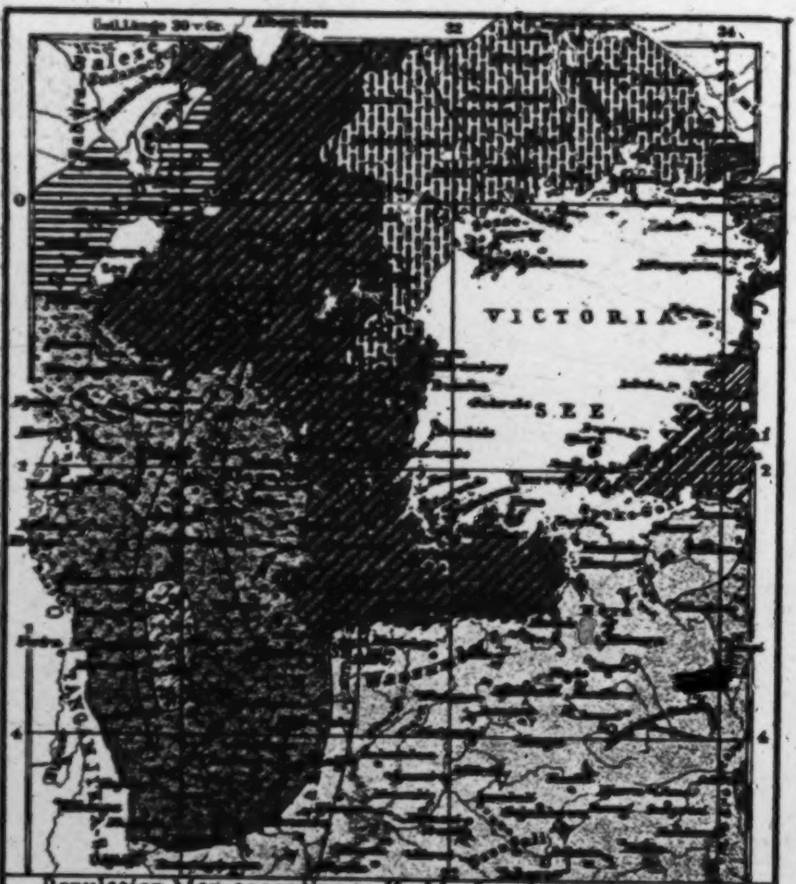
133
137

7. Dry forest (steppe forest, Miombo forest) or tree steppe with sparse grass; a few types of trees predominate, the individual types often in clusters.

8. Grazing plateau and mountain steppe; besides mountain bushes, rock and loose rock vegetation of the highest regions.

2: Meyer--293 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

162



Population Map according to K. Weule, the northern section supplemented according to Czekanowski.

1 ▭
2 ■
3 ■
4 ■
5 ■
6 ▨
7 ■

1. Bantu, no other groups superimposed (Basic or Original Bantu, "Older" Bantu according to Baumann). Bantu of the interlacustrine region with predominantly Hamitic political systems superimposed (Bahima States). (a) Speaking their original language

2. Banjaruanda, Barundi, Baha. (b) Speaking Kinjoro

3. Banjoro, Banjankole, Banjámbo, Basiba, Bassuwi, Basindja.

4. Bakondjo.

5. Batwa (Pygmies).

6. Baganda,

7. Wagaja (Nilotes).

[End map, lower right, in color]